FBIS DAILY REPORT

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CSSR DAILY SEES NEED FOR COMPROMISE ON MBFR

AU051450 Bratislava ROLNICKE NOVINY in Slovak 1 Oct 81 p 5

[M. Smolik article: "The 25th Round of Talks Has Already Taken Place in Vienna: Need for Compromises"]

[Text] "The socialist countries advocate that the Vienna talks should be continued but should be productive and fruitful. Nobody must avail himself of the Vienna talks to disguise further increases in the numerical strength of troops and equipment in central Europe...." These words resounded at the first meeting of the resumed talks on reducing the strength of the armed forces and armaments in central Europe, the 25th round of these disarmament talks which have been going on for 8 years with the participation of delegations from 7 countries of the socialist community and of 12 NATO countries. The author of these wrods was Ambassador Emil Deblusek, head of the Czechoslovak delegation.

We have already frequently written about the importance of these marathon talks whose objective is to work out and implement measures for military detente and for eliminating the powder keg into which Europe has changed for millions of its inhabitants. Quite a few constructive proposals have been submitted at the Vienna forum, and a certain atmosphere of mutual understanding has also developed. Unfortunately in the past few months the overall situation in the world and the conflicting nature of the development of international relations have also been reflected in the Vienna Hofburg Palace, the old residence of emperors where wars used to be planned and where the plenary sessions are now being held. These conditions have prompted the NATO country delegates to reject the only realistic concept based on the equal security for both sides and have stimulated efforts to push for unilateral advantages for NATO.

If the only criterium of effectiveness for the Vienna talks is that they achieve their purpose of working out an agreement on mutually reducing the numerical strength of armed forces and armaments, it can be stated that the prospects for an agreement are still nebulous and that it is still impossible to speak of any success, not even a partial one. From this position -- as was noted by the group of Soviet journalists who are watching these talks in Vienna, G. Yevgenev and I. Melnikov -- the Vienna talks participants are still far from the final round. It can be stated that they are still marking time at the starting line: Not a single line of the future agreement has yet been put down on paper. Nevertheless, it is true though that in the past few years a slow and difficult approximation -- of a sort -- of the positions of the participants in the talks has been achieved. Thus, with respect to relatively many points and to the attitudes toward the problems of what elements connected with reducing the ground troops of the USSR and the United States should be included in the first stage of the accord, an agreement was reached on the deadlines for withdrawing the troops from the reduction area as well as on the fact that the first agreement should be valid for 3 years.

The basic issues of the future agreement still remain open because the West has not replied to the socialist countries' proposal for a compromise, particularly to their initiative of July and November 1980. Nor has it expressed itself about some other proposals, either. Even though the West has recognized the compromising nature of the proposals the socialist countries have not yet received a constructive replay. Thus far the West has only registered the existence of contradictions instead of contributing to an approximation of the positions of the sides. "This fully applies to attempts by the Western participants to separate secondary measures from the main issues of reduction, revise the mandate of the Vienna talks and broaden the sphere of application of some of these measures beyond central Europe," stated Ambassador Emil Keblusek, our delegation leader, at the opening of the 25th round of the talks.

Whereas the Atlantic participants in the talks are still striving to obtain unilateral advantages in Vienna and implement the idea of an "asymmetric," that is unbalanced reduction which would harm the Warsaw Pact states, the socialist countries are patiently endorsing a consistent, principled line and are not striving to achieve unilateral military superiority. Their porposals do not even comprise a shade of a minimum effort to disturb the balance of forces and to violate the security of any state. An entire series of proposals submitted by the socialist countries has created appropriate prerequisites making it possible to sign an agreement on the first stage of reductions which undoubtedly would contribute to consolidating security in Europe and would result in further restricting the military potential at the center of our "old continent."

The stagnation which has come about at the Hofburg Palace in the course of the last few rounds shows that the governments of certain Western countries can -- if it suits their purposes -- not only slow down but even lead into a hopeless blind alley any talks, even the most important ones. Had the West not again erected artificial obstacles at the Hofburg talks it would have been possible at least for an agreement on the first phase of reduction to be looming on the horizon. All now depends on the attitude of the West on whether it will constructively respond to our proposals. The socialist states proceed from the fact that the talks can and must end with concrete results which could be a basis for military detente in Europe.

DAILY INTERVIEWS BULGARIAN MBFR DELEGATE

AU041316 Sofia ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME in Bulgarian 1 Oct 81 p 4

[Boris Chakurov, ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME correspondent, interview in Vienna with Lyubomir Shopov, Bulgarian delegate to the Vienna negotiations on the reduction of armaments and armed forces in central Europe -- date not given]

[Text] A closed plenary session of the 25th round of the Vienna negotiations on the reduction of armaments and armed forces in central Europe, which opened on 24 September, is expected to begin tomorrow. The negotiations are aimed at elaborating practical measures for reducing military potential in the central European area.

On the basis of several practical compromise proposals submitted in Vienna, the socialist countries continue to devote their efforts to finding a way out of the prolonged stagnation in the negotiations. Due to the unconstructive attitude of the Western participants. In connection with the progress of negotiations, Ambassador Lyubomir Shopov, leader of the Bulgarian delegation in Vienna, answered a few questions asked by our ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME correspondent.

Question: Comrade Shopov, how can you describe the beginning of the present round of negotiations?

Answer: It is a well-known fact that as a result of great efforts and thanks above all to the constructive approach and specific, practical proposals submitted by the socialist countries in Vienna, a certain rapprochement of the stands on some of the questions discussed has been reached. Provided that there is good will this rapprochement could be expanded. This depends on the good will of the Western participants in the negotiations. I am talking about the general opinion that reductions of armed forces in central Europe should be carried out in two consecutive stages. According to this general opinion, only the USSR and the United States are supposed to reduce their troops during the first stage. In this connection, I am also talking about the length of the validity of the first, possible agreement.

The compromise proposals submitted by the socialist countries on 10 July and 13 November 1980 represent a serious working basis for expanding mutual agreements. These proposals, among other things, express the readiness of the USSR to withdraw 20,000 soldiers from the central European area as against 13,000 soldiers by the United States. If we take into consideration the 20,000 soldiers and 1,000 tanks, as well as other types of military technical equipment which were already withdrawn by the Soviet Union on a unilateral basis, we understand what an expression of good will is represented by the gesture of the socialist countries in manifesting their readiness to reduce the number of their troops stationed in central Europe by virtually 40,000 people.

Unfortunately, however, despite the fact that several months have elapsed since this event, the Western participants in the negotiations have not yet given a specific, constructive answer to the socialist countries' initiatives. This is a serious obstacle to the businesslike progress of negotiations.

Question: How do you see the development of the negotiations under the present exacerbated international situation and under the circumstances of an intensified arms race provoked by the United States and NATO?

Answer: The socialist countries, headed by the USSR, have repeatedly proved, also under difficult international circumstances, that they are the true champions of peace in the world. The Crimean meetings between Leonid Brezhnev, the CPSU Central Committee secretary general and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the leaders of socialist countries have convincingly confirmed this fact. These meetings once more stressed that the relations among countries belonging to different social systems must be built on the basis of peaceful coexistence, even under the circumstances of our nuclear century today.

The representatives of the socialist countries at the Vienna negotiations are actively working to reduce military confrontation in central Europe by keeping up a constructive and effective dialogue. We are convinced that thanks to the constructive stand of the Warsaw Pact treaty member-countries, necessary conditions and prerequisites likely to permit the signing of a first, specific agreement on the reduction of both Soviet and American troops in the are have long existed in Vienna. Only political good will and a sincere wish on part of the Western participants -- a good will and a sincere wish which are nonexistent for the time being -- are required to implement this goal. On the other hand, the long-term NATO military program adopted in 1978, as well as the decision to deploy new medium range U.S. missiles on European territory, and so forth, by no means contribute to a successful development of the Vienna negotiations.

The so-called Western proposal of 1979 actually represents a revision of the closing communique on the negotiations adopted in 1973 and a renunciation of the Western participants of the mutual agreements reached at that time.

The socialist countries favor a successful continuation of the Vienna negotiations and are doing everything within their power to find a way out of the stagnation in the negotiations. Will the Western participants demonstrate in deeds, and not in words, their readiness to practically contribute to consolidating security in central Europe and to improving the atmosphere as well as to increasing mutual trust on our continent? Only a constructive reply to the variety of proposals that have been submitted by the socialist countries in the 1978-80 period will show whether this will happen.

POLES CAUGHT BETWEEN REVISIONIST, CAPITALIST TUG

AU061320 Tirana PUNA in Albanian 2 Oct 81 p 4

[Editorial article: "The Consequences of the Restoration of Capitalism Weigh on the Backs of the Polish Working Class"]

[Text] The situation in Poland is extremely grave. Ths struggle for power between the old bourgeoisie and the new revisionist bourgeoisie has become very exacerbated. On the one side the pans [Polish term for gentlemen] and the Catholic Church, under the guise of the so-called independent self-governing trade union of Solidarity, are seeking to take state power in their hands. On the other hand the Polish revisionist clique, which took away power from the working class, liquidated the dictatorship of the proletariat and restored capitalism through its counter-revolution, is struggling to preserve its power holding on by the skin of its teeth. All cards are being played in this struggle of the clans. Both sides are speculating in the name of the working class, seeking to keep it in their claws, manipulate it and use it for their own political purposes.

The Polish working class is paying a high price for the bitter consequences of this clash. The country's economic position is disastrous. Total industrial output is continually declining. According to data published in the Polish press itself, output was down 18 percent in July and August, compared with the previous year. The situation in the agricultural and trade sectors is alarming. There is a shortage of daily consumer commodities: meat, butter, rice and so forth. There are not even writing pads for school-children. The Polish authorities addressed themselves recently to the EEC and are seeking urgent help in the form of deliveries of foodstuffs. They have made a first request for 1 million tons of wheat and barley, 200,000 tons of rice, 50,000 tons of meat, 30,000 tons of butter and so forth. Prices are raising daily. The black market is flourishing. Unemployment has become chronic. The Polish News Agency announced recently that "There will be no jobs for 120,000 school-leavers, including 15,000 graduates from the higher schools. In order to mitigate this situation somewhat and secure foreign currency, the Polish revisionists, following the example of the Yugoslav ones, are selling manpower to other capitalist countries: 400,000 Polish workers are waiting to emigrate to other countries: the FRG, Sweden, Austria, Canada, Australia and so forth. Poland's debts have reached the sum of $27 billion and $2.7 billion are required annually to pay the interest on the loans granted by some 400 Western banks. Future prospects are even bleaker. Poland's socioeconomic situation is in a blind alley. Finding themselves between two fires (the forces hiding behind Solidarity want concessions, on the one hand, while the Kremlin masters want belts to be tightened, on the other), the Polish revisionist leaders have lost their bearings. "It is risible to pretend that we are fighting for a new and enlightened future," declared Vice-Premier Rakowski recently. "We must fight for sheer survival.... [ellipses as published] the Polish state," he sent on, "has been moving toward the abyss for some months now."

The picture presented by present-day Poland is the typical picture of a capitalist country in a state of general political, ideological, economic and social crisis. This is the state to which Poland has been reduced by the anti-Marxist and counterrevolutionary policy pursued by the various revisionist teams of Gomulka, Gierek and, currently, Kania. By adopting the course started at the 20th congress of the Soviet revisionists, they liquidated the victories of socialism, advanced rapidly toward the restoration of capitalism, subjected the country to the diktat and arbitrariness of the Kremlin leaders and opened up the floodgates to Western monopolies and capital.

The severe crisis in which Poland finds itself at the moment is a reflection of the crisis that has gripped the entire capitalist and revisionist system. The Soviet Union, China, Yugoslavia and the other revisionist countries are swimming in such waters. In these countries, too, the working class, divested of all political power, is being oppressed and exploited by the new bourgeoisie, is working under severe conditions, is suffering from unemployment and rising prices and is made to pay for huge foreign debts.

The putrefaction of the present-day system in Poland has led to the further exacerbation of the struggle between the classes, between the Polish proletariat and the new revisionist bourgeoisie. The counterrevolutionary forces, the Catholic clergy and international imperialism are exploiting the disaffection of the broad working masses. Through Solidarity and under the guise of the struggle against the antiworkers policy of the Polish revisionist leadership, these forces are misleading the working class. Profiting also from the betrayal of the Polish revisionist trade unions, which have become an instrument of the new bourgeoisie and an appendage of its bureaucratic apparatus against the interests of the workers, Solidarity has emerged as "the true champion" of the working class. A big clamor has been made concerning the fact that this "independent self-governing trade union" would remain outside of politics and serve the working class. Unscrupulous demagogy!

The slogan of "independent" trade union has always been a disguise to conceal precisely their dependence on political parties. There has never been and there cannot be apoliticism in the trade union movement. The problem is in whose interests are the trade unions struggling, in the interests of the working class or in the interests of the bourgeoisie? Solidarity could not be an exception, all the more since it has come out openly as a representative of reaction and a close ally of the Vatican and international imperialism, despite the fact that it is disguised with workers' overalls. Within 1 year the 21 points used by Solidarity as an economic platform to attract the working class were transformed into political actions against revisionist rule, waging a counterrevolution within the revisionist counter-revolution. All it amounts to is to replace one oppressive and exploiting regime with another one that is no less savage and hostile to the Polish working class. Solidarity is now issuing open appeals to overthrow the anti-Marxist party and the revisionist counterrevolutionary state power in order to replace it with another reactionary capitalist state power, in order to transform Poland from an advanced position and satellite of Soviet social-imperialism into an advanced position and colony of Western imperialism. This situation has alarmed the Kremlin masters, who have set in motion their entire arsenal to check this situation. They deliver ultimatum after ultimatum to the Polish leaders, they are massing military forces around Poland and carry out threatening military maneuvers, they send marshals and diplomats to Warsaw, summon the Polish leadership to Moscow and the Crimea, engage in clamorous propaganda and threaten an economic blockade. Those who sow the wind reap the whirlwind.

Western chancelleries, the reactionary press, radio and TV, the pope, cardinals and spokesmen of foreign ministries, the AFL-CIO and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, too, are carrying out a feverish undermining activity. They all sing to the Solidarity tune, advise it, prepare its platforms, suggest tactics and give it millions of dollars.

Solidarity has now come out openly on the offensive. It has found the "achilles' heel" of the Polish leadership and fires its arrows unceasingly. It is deepening the chaos and anarchy and calls on the masses to disobey the orders of the revisionist authorities. This entire activity has found suitable ground in the disaffection of the masses as a result of the great difficulties they are facing and it has raised them in strikes and demonstrations. But the masses are becoming increasingly disillusioned with every passing day. Their economic situation is not improving, on the contrary, it is deteriorating.

Strikes and their economic and political claims are a powerful weapon in the hands of working class for freedom and its rights. But not every strike movement is in the interests of the working class. A strike movement must be viewed from a class angle, from a political angle. What is its purpose, whom does it serve and who guides it. The current strikes in Poland do not lead to raising the revolutionary movement of the working class, they are directed by agents of reaction like Lech Walesa and company and are playing the game of the counterrevolutionary forces.

Poland cannot extricate itself from the difficult and chaotic situation in which it has sunk with the Kanias or Walesas, the Soviet social-imperialists or the U.S. imperialists. Only the Polish working class can do this. In preserving and further developing its distinguished revolutionary traditions, the Polish working class will find numerous forces in its own midst and will create its genuine leadership, the Marxist-Leninist party, which will assume responsibility for extricating the country from chaos and anarchy, save it from the dangers threatening the freedom and independence of the Polish people and lead it to victory.

The proletarian revolution led by the Marxist-Leninist party is the sure road that will bring victory to the polish working class. ZERI I POPULLIT rightly stressed as early as last year, in an article on 7 September which analyzed the situation in Poland: "The Polish working class was right in striking against the Polish revisionist leadership and in rising against it, but it struck from the right and from these positions it arrived at a compromise with this leadership. It did not move on to the revolution and could not do so, since neither the Walesas nor the church could lead it in the revolution. Only resolute and consistent struggle along the path traced by Marxism-Leninism can restore to the Polish working class the socialist victories that have been lost and to the country its freedom, independence and national dignity."

LLESHI ATTENDS DISTRICT PEOPLE'S COUNCIL MEETING

AU052047 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 5 Oct 81

[Summary] The Shkoder District People's Council held a meeting today to discuss the work done to implement the party and Enver Hoxha's teachings in strengthening and further advancing the role of the people's councils. Invited to the meeting were deputies of the People's Assembly; leaders of the people's councils of united villages and cities' quarters; directors of economic enterprises, agricultural cooperativists, representatives of mass organizations and others. Also present was Haxhi Lleshi, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

Lefter Goga, chairman of the district's People's Council Executive Committee delivered a report on, among other things, the activities to date in learning and implementing laws, decisions and orders in various sectors, and the further activities of leaders in pursuing economic tasks for the fulfillment of plans. Haxhi Lleshi also spoke at the meeting.

BRIEFS

MINISTERS AT TURKISH PERFORMANCE -- The Turkish radio-television group of artists gave a performance in the sports palace 'Partisani' in Tirana. Also present were foreign Trade Minister Nedin Hoxha; Health Minister Llambi Zhicishti; Nesip Ibrahimi, chairman of the Tirana People's Council Executive Committee; Ksenofon Nushi, deputy minister of foreign affairs; Anastas Kondo, deputy minister of education and culture and chairman of the Cultural and Arts Committee of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania; Javer Malo, chairman of the Albanian Committee for friendly and cultural relations with foreign countries and others. Also present was Metin Karaca ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Turkey in Tirana. [Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 2000 GMT 29 Sep 81 AU]

PUBLICATION OF HOXHA'S WORKS -- The 34th volume of Comrade Enver Hoxha has come off the presses. It includes material covering the period November 1966 through January 1967. Most of the material is being published for the first time. [Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1230 GMT 3 Oct 81 AU]

IAEA MEETING -- The 25th session of the General Conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency began in Vienna on 21 September. An Albanian delegation led by Musin Kroi, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania to the Republic of Austria and Albania's permanent representative to the IAEA attended the session. [Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 22 Sep 81 AU]

REACTION TO DEATH OF ANWAR AS-SADAT NOTED

'Disgraceful Period' Ends

AU071415 Sofia BTA in English 1350 GMT 7 Oct 81

["On the Assault in Cairo"]

[Text] Sofia, 7 Oct (BTA) -- Today, prompted by the assault in Cairo, NARODNA MLADEZH carried a commentary in this connection. The greatest concern over As-Sadat's death is expected to be evoked in Tel Aviv, where, not once, although unofficially, concern has been expressed over bilateral relations' future, in case the Egypt's president leaves the political scene. Concern is expected to arouse in Washington, too, where each change in the Egyptian foreign policy course, alien to the "strategic cooperation" trends is regarded as a possible serious threat to the aims of the American Middle East strategy which has been built for years now. In the commentary it is said that concern will be a guest to the ruling circles in Sudan and Somalia, which have closely bound up with Egypt their dangerous plans for exerting pressure on the states in the African Horn and Libya.

The fact that it was the very personality of the Egyptian president and not his people, who was present in all imperialist and Zionist plots and plans for the Middle East which is pointed to as the reason for this concern. It is stressed that it was As-Sadat who, through terror and violence, imposed on Egypt the shameful "peace" of Camp David, who divorced the Egyptian people from the just struggle waged by their Arab brothers and gave a promise for the Egyptian land to be turned into a base of American militarism.

"As-Sadat's line was completely alien and hostile to the wide people's masses. This resolute stand of the Egyptian people, who, in spite of the terror, remained loyal to their freedom-loving and democratic traditions and have always felt themselves an inseparable part of the anti-imperialist front, is a reality, which, together with As-Sadat's death is likely to bring one of the most disgraceful periods in Egypt's history to an end", the commentary stressed in conclusion.

Further Commentary

AU080926 Sofia BTA in English 0835 GMT 8 Oct 81

[Text] Sofia, 8 Oct (BTA) -- The press comments on the consequences of As-Sadat's assassination. "An impression is gained that people seem indifferent to the assassination of the president", reports BTA correspondent in Cairo, comparing the situation in the city now with the strong outburts of sorrow of the entire nation in 1970, after the death of Jamal 'Abd an-Nasir.

The correspondent says that the majority of the Egyptian people did not approve of the internal and external policy of As-Sadat. "This policy", writes the BTA correspondent, "pushed the country into an economic and social crisis and aggravated class controversies. It tore Egypt away from its natural media -- the Arab world -- and pushed it towards separatism and cooperation with Zionism, towards association with the strategic interests and plans of the United States in the Middle East and Africa".

RABOTNICHESKO DELO and other papers today say that As-Sadat increasingly resorted to dictatorial methods and repressive actions, trying to cope with the growing discontent and the growing opposition among different layers of the Egyptian society.

"The assassination of President Sadat" as observers say, "is not an isolated and accidental act, but a premeditated, organized act," writes RABOTNICHESKO DELO daily. The drama took place after Sadat launched merciless repressive measures against the opposition coming from various layers.

FURTHER REPORTAGE ON VISIT OF ANGOLAN PRESIDENT

Zhivkov Toast 3 Oct

AU032037 Sofia BTA in English 1830 GMT 3 Oct 81

[Report on speeches by Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee secretary and State Council chairman, and by Jose Eduardo dos Santos, chairman of the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] - Labor Party and president of Angola, delivered at dinner for Angola's president in Sofia on 2 October 1981]

[Text] Sofia, 3 Oct (BTA) -- "Our people are glad that most African peoples denounced the capitalist way of development and channelled their efforts into building a society without exploitation, a socialist society," stated Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council of Bulgaria.

In a speech delivered last night at the formal dinner for Mr dos Santos, he condemned the attempts of imperialism at restoring its lost positions -- through dictat and blackmail, through aggression and gross interference in the internal affairs of independent states. Mr Todor Zhivkov added: "Imperialism sets up military bases, tries to drag some African states into military alliances, fans up conflicts and hotbeds of tension".

"We know that," he continued, "having become the main striking force of international imperialism, of colonialism and apartheid the racist regime in South Africa, with the backing of the U.S. administration, keeps expanding its subversive activity and interference in the internal affairs of many sovereign African states".

The Bulgarian leader emphasized that the Bulgarian people condemn the bandit assaults of the racists of the South African Republic and raise their voice of protest insisting on the immediate withdrawal of the aggressors.

He also stressed that Bulgaria has always rendered and will continue to render active backing to the peoples of Namibia and the South African Republic in their legitimate and just struggle for obtaining real freedom and independence.

Dwelling on the international situation aggravating through the fault of the USA and some other imperialist, reactionary and hegemonistic forces, Mr Todor Zhivkov said: "It is the duty of all states, big and small, of their leaders, of the political, cultural, scientific and other public figures, of all sensible people, to assist in the approval of the complex of proposals made by the USSR. They lay out the only right way to healing the international climate, to curbing the arms race and to disarmament, to doing away with the hotbeds of tension in different parts of the world to consolidating the trust among nations and states".

He assessed the first official visit of Mr dos Santos to Bulgaria as yet another proof of the long standing friendship and cooperation between the BCP and the MPLA, between the two countries and peoples.

Mr Todor Zhivkov stressed: "I am deeply convinced that this visit of yours will yield fresh ideas and a fresh impetus to the further consolidating and deepening of our fraternal friendship on the unshakable basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism".

On his part the Angolan leader also expressed his conviction that at this meeting the prospects of bilateral cooperation in spheres of mutual interest will be outlined.

Dwelling on the attempts by the imperialists at destabilizing the situation in different parts of the world, he emphasized that this policy, which ultimately aims at destroying the progressive forces and regimes and replacing them by puppet governments, can be felt particularly strongly in Africa, the Middle East and Latin America.

Mr dos Santos condemned the imperialist policy in the Middle East and West Sahara and expressed support for the struggle of the peoples of Palestine and Chad.

He attached special importance to the situation in the African south. The present situation in that part of the continent, Mr dos Santos emphasized, "features a systematic escalation of the acts of aggression of the racist regime of South Africa -- a regime backed up by the new Reagan's administration These acts ended up with escalation of the aggression on a wide front over the free and sovereign territory of Angola under the pretext that SWAPO [South-West African Peoples' Organization] is persecuted for destroying its bases on our territory and the so-called danger of communist threat".

He emphasized that with these aggression acts the racist regime in South Africa has violated the sovereignty and has infringed the territorial integrity of Angola.

Mr dos Santos continued: "The quick heroic actions of our young armed forces are a proof of the justice of our principles and combat spirit of our army which was waging a heavy battle against well-trained air forces, which became the crucial factor in the hostilities".

He emphasized that the Angolan people resisted the treacherous attacks of the racist regime of South Africa, fulfilling their international duty to the just struggle of the Namibian people. Mr dos Santos added: "The Angolan people need the concrete help of all progressive and peace-loving forces in the world, in order to continue the resistance".

In his speech he made a high assessment of the prompt and energetic condemnation of this aggression expressed by Bulgaria's people, party and government.

The Angolan leader emphasized that the question of the colonial status of the Namibian people acquired new strength as a result of the firmness of stands of the Organisation for African Unity and the non-aligned movement for approving resolution number 435 of the Security Council as a basis for negotiations on Namibia's independence.

Condemning the acts of the imperialist circles of the Western countries and first of all of the USA, which create tension in the international situation and threaten mankind's achievements in the sphere of detente and disarmament, he condemned in a most categorical manner also the U.S. decision on the production of the neutron bomb.

Documents Signed 6 Oct

AU061257 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 6 Oct 81

[Text] The final talks between Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee secretary general and State Council chairman, and Jose Eduardo dos Santos, chairman of MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] Labor Party and president of the People's Republic of Angola, ended at the Boyana Residence this morning. Bulgarian and Angolan officials also attended the friendly and cordial talks.

Following the talks, comrades Todor Zhivkov and Jose Eduardo dos Santos signed a political declaration.

A protocol on long-term cooperation in the agricultural sector, a program for cultural and scientific-technical cooperation, an agreement on merchant shipping and other documents were signed which are expected to further deepen the cooperation in the sphere agriculture, mining-geological research, energy and so forth.

The official friendly visit of Jose Eduardo dos Santos, chairman of the MPLA-Labor Party and president of the People's Republic of Angola, to Bulgaria at the invitation of Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee secretary general and State Council chairman, has ended. The particularly cordial welcome of Comrade dos Santos and the talks with Comrade Todor Zhivkov which were held in an atmosphere of full mutual understanding, as well as the Bulgarian-Angolan documents signed will contribute to further strengthening and developing the Bulgarian-Angolan relations in the name of the happiness and prosperity of the two peoples, in the interest of peace and security in the world.

Hundreds of Sofia citizens, boys and girls were gathered at the Sofia airport to see off the Angolan delegation. Comrades Todor Zhivkov, Alexsandur Lilov, Grisha Filipov, Dobri Dzhurov, Ognyan Doynov, Peko Takov, Petur Mladenov, Petur Tanchev, Stanko Todorov, Todor Bozhniov, Tsola Dragoycheva, Andrey Lukanov, Georgi Yordanov, Petur Dyulgerov, Dimitur Stanishev, Stoyan Mikhaylov, Milko Balev, Misho Mishev, Vasil Tsanov and Chudomir Aleksandrov were also present.

A guard detachment presented honors to Jose Eduardo dos Santos. The Angolan and Bulgarian national anthems were also played.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov accompanied Comrade dos Santos to the plane and cordially wished him a good journey.

Joint Declaration

AU062140 Sofia BTA in English 1832 GMT 6 Oct 81

["Bulgaria-Angola: Joint Declaration" -- BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, Oct 7 (BTA) -- "Bulgaria and Angola condemn the policy the new U.S. administration is pursuing in Africa which is directed towards the African states' involvement in its aggressive plans and they strongly condemn the United States' alliance with the South African regime of apartheid, the gross interference in the internal affairs of independent African states", is stressed in the joint declaration on Mr. Jose Eduardo dos Santos' visit to Bulgaria from October 2 through 6.
The two sides to the talks stood against the American administration's branding of the national liberation movements as "terrorist" and against the building of military bases in Africa.

They express satisfaction with the deepening of the world revolutionary process and with the strengthening of the world socialist system, with the scope and the successes achieved by the national liberation movements in Africa and in the other continents, with the strengthening of the struggle of the progressive, democratic and peace-loving forces in the world for preserving and consolidating peace and international security.

Bulgaria and Angola described the North American administration's decision to go ahead with the production of the neutron bomb as the latest serious challenge to the world public opinion, as an aggressive act and as a new in series and extremely dangerous step towards further stepping up the arms race.

They back up unreservedly the programme for healing the international situation, for easing the international tension and for strengthening the process of detente, peace and international security, which has been adopted at the 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The two parties to the talks condemn the still continuing occupation of the territory of Namibia on the part of Pretoria's racist regime and the using of the Namibian territory as a base for armed attacks against Angola. They reaffirm their solidarity and support with the struggle waged by the people of Namibia under the leadership of SWAPO [South-West African Peoples' Organization], and also the struggle of the south African people against the apartheid, for national and social liberation under the leadership of the African National Congress.

It is noted in the declaration that Mr Todor Zhivkov has given high assessment to the great international support and all-round aid the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola]-Party of Labor and Angola render to the people of Namibia in their struggle.

In the declaration stress is laid on Bulgaria and Angola's support for the decisions taken by the Organisation for African Unity for Resolving the West Sahara issue on the basis of the right of the people of West Sahara for self-determination.

The two parties to the talks deny the separate anti-Arab deal of Camp David which aggravates the Middle East situation and insist on including the Palestine Liberation Organization on an equitable basis in the process of peaceful settlement of the conflict in the Middle East.

The complete unanimity of Bulgaria and Angola's stands on many other international matters is expressed in the document.

Emphasis is laid on the fact that the two countries and peoples' relations of friendship and mutually advantageous cooperation are being constantly expanded on the basis of the friendship and cooperation treaty, signed in 1978, which are in full accordance with the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

At their present meeting in Sofia, they have realised their mutual will and determination to make further efforts to promote the fraternal ties and all-round cooperation between the BCP and the MPLA-Party of Labour, between Bulgaria and Angola, between the two peoples.

As a result from the talks Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Jose Eduardo dos Santos had, nine documents mapping out a large-scale programme for further expanding the reciprocally profitable cooperation on a long-term and planned basis have been signed.

'Sincerity and Friendship'

AU061953 Sofia BTA in English 1845 GMT 6 Oct 81

["Sincere and Friendly Relations" -- BTA commentator Kh. Radev]

[Text] Sofia, 6 Oct -- Between Bulgaria and Angola there are relations of sincerity and friendship which are being constantly developing and further improved. [as received] They are built on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, on sharing the same ideas and same goal -- the building of socialism. There are also good prospects for further all-round development of the two countries' ties. This was proved by the official and friendly visit of Mr Jose Eduardo dos Santos, chairman of the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola]-Party of Labour and president of Angola to Bulgaria which ended today, the meetings and the talks he had with Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council.

The parties, countries and peoples' ties, already traditional, have been based on the friendship and cooperation treaty signed in October 1978. The present detailed review showed that the treaty's implementation follows an ascending line. The concrete measures for further expanding and strengthening the relations which have been discussed reveal new possibilities for all-round cooperation.

The regular contacts on top party and state level are of extremely high importance in this respect. They also are the driving force for still closer and advantageous getting Bulgaria's people together with the people of Angola. An expression of the readiness and determination for the relations' further and active promoting and deepening is the number of documents signed today. In them diverse and new forms and means for enriching the cooperation have been outlined.

As it is stressed in the joint declaration, released for publication today, the official talks have proceeded in an atmosphere of cordiality and sincere friendship, of mutual respect and understanding. Discussing the present international situation, Bulgaria and Angola's top party leaders and heads of state have found with satisfaction their countries' complete unanimity of views on the problems discussed. The efforts made by the Soviet Union for healing the international situation, for easing the international tension and for consolidating the process of detente, peace and international security have been supported unreservedly.

Bulgaria, together with the socialist community countries, is constantly translating into life peaceful policy of principle. The latest Bulgaro-Angolan summit is yet another contribution to strengthening the two peoples' understanding and cooperation.

GRISHA FILIPOV RECEIVES NEW POLISH AMBASSADOR

AU071648 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1630 GMT 7 Oct 81

[Text] Grisha Filipov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, received the newly appointed Polish ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Wladyslaw Napieraj. The meeting was attended by Marin Yotov, deputy minister of foreign affiars.

ZHIVKOV HAS TALKS WITH SEW CHAIRMAN SCHMITT

AU071430 Sofia BTA in English 1308 GMT 7 Oct 81

[Text] Sofia, 7 Oct (BTA) -- Today Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP had talks here with Mr Horst Schmitt, chairman of the United Socialist Party West Berlin [SEW], who is on a visit to Bulgaria as a head of that party's delegation.

They reaffirmed the full coincidence of BCP and the United Socialist Party, - West Berlin's stands on and assessments of all contemporary international matters.

Expressing their concern over the aggravation of the international situation, two leaders condemned resolutely U.S. decision to go ahead with a mass production of the neutron weapon and expressed the two parties' readiness to wage a consistent struggle for curbing the fresh round of the arms race.

Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Horst Schmitt pointed to the part the initiatives of the CPSU and the Soviet Union and of the other socialist community countries play, and to the efforts made by the communist and workers parties, of all peace-loving and democratic forces, aimed at continuing and deepening the international detente.

They found with satisfaction that the relations between the BCP and the United Socialist Party - West Berlin are being developed actively on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism in the interests of the working people, for the ultimate victory of the communist ideals.

ANDREY LUKANOV DEPARTS FOR ROMANIA FOR TALKS

AU071306 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 7 Oct 81

[Text] Andrey Lukanov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, has left for Bucharest where he will discuss certain problems connected with further expanding and deepening the cooperation between the two countries.

DYULGEROV-LED TU DELEGATION DEPARTS FOR ROMANIA

AU071302 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 7 Oct 81

[Text] A trade union delegation led by Petur Dyulgerov, chairman of the Bulgarian Trade Unions Central Council and BCP Central Committee Politburo candidate member, left for Romania today. The delegation will attend a session of the WFTU Executive Bureau.

KUBADINSKI, DELEGATION RETURN FROM MOSCOW

AU071649 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1630 GMT 7 Oct 81

[Text] The Bulgarian party and state delegation headed by Comrade Pencho Kubadinski, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Fatherland Front National Council, returned from Moscow today.

The delegation was greeted at Sofia Airport by Misho Mishev, BCP Central Committee Secretary, by deputy chairmen and secretaries of the Fatherland Front National Council, and by high-ranking party officials and functionaries from the Foreign Affairs Ministry and the Committee of Culture.

CONSULTATIONS WITH SWEDISH OFFICIALS END

AU080930 Sofia BTA in English 0827 GMT 8 Oct 81

[Text] Stockholm, 8 Oct (BTA) -- Three-day political consultations between the ministeries of foreign affairs of Bulgaria and Sweden ended yesterday in the Swedish capital. The Bulgarian delegation was led by Mr Mariy Ivanov, first deputy minister of foreign affairs and the Swedish by Mr Lennart Eckerberg, deputy minister of foreign affairs on political matters.

On the agenda were a wide range of issues related to the strengthening of security and cooperation in Europe and the world. The two parties to the talks described the internaional situation as uneasy and dangerous for the process of detente. The conviction was expressed that success is possible for the Madrid meeting for European security and cooperation provided there is good will and constructive approach. The delegations stressed that the declaration of northern Europe and the Balkans for nuclear-free zones will make a substantial contribution to detente and to the lessening of the threat of a nuclear conflict.

The delegations reviewed the state of and the prospects for the development of bilateral relations in the political, the economic and the cultural spheres. Special attention was paid to the economic, the scientific and the technological cooperation, including to the prospects for industrial and market cooperation.

The leader of the Bulgarian delegation was received by the Swedish minister of foreign affairs, Ola Ullsten.

LILOV-LED PARTY DELEGATION LEAVES FOR PORTUGAL

AU071037 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 7 Oct 81

[Text] At the invitation of the Portuguese Communist Party Central Committee, a BCP Central Committee delegation led by Aleksandur Lilov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, departed for Lisbon. At Sofia Airport the delegation was seen off by Ognyan Doynov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, and BCP Central Committee responsible officials.

BRIEFS

DYULGEROV IN BATAK -- A new trade union relaxation and cultrual complex was opened near Batak today. Petur Dyulgerov, BCP Central Committee Politburo candidate member and chairman of the Bulgarian Trade Unions Central Council, opened the complex. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1630 GMT 3 Oct 81 AU]

FURTHER ON RESPONSE TO AS-SADAT ASSASSINATION

Husak Cables Condolences

LD071910 Prague CTK in English 1750 GMT 7 Oct 81

[Text] Prague, 7 Oct (CTK) -- Czechoslovak President Gustav Husak sent a telegram of condolences to Egyptian Interim President Sufi 'abu Talib in connection with the death of Egyptian President Anwar as-Sadat.

Varied Reaction Viewed

LD071948 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 7 Oct 81

[Frantisek Prachar commentary]

[Text] Reaction to the violent elimination of the highest Egyptian president [as heard] varies considerably. Foreign correspondents in Cairo are currently concentrating on a cautious selection of facts rather than commenting on them. But virtually all reports from Egypt agree on one thing: President As-Sadat was removed by the effects of a policy which he himself advocated and to which he sacrificed the fundamental interests of his country. A key factor was his betrayal of the front of progressive Arab countries, his (?links) with Israel, and his de facto submission to the protectorate of the United States.

All this, together with the recent wave of extensive repression against opposition forces in the country in which thousands of people were arrested, was clearly the notorious last straw which broke the camel's back. It is, to some extent, symbolic that the assassination was carried out by one of the crack formations of the Egyptian Army, which President As-Sadat regarded as the main pillar of his regime. The current vice president Husni Mubarak is to be his successor. Today he was unanimously proposed by the Political Bureau of the ruling National Democratic Party.

Mubarak hastened to give the assurance that Egypt will continue to pursue the former president's political line and that nothing will change, especially with regard to its foreign policy. This assurance, addressed to the White House -- though very prompt -- clearly did not make the desired impression. All the U.S. armed forces in the Near East area have been placed in a state of increased combat alert and are now concentrated mainly in the vicinity of the Libyan coast and in the Persian Gulf. Moreover, voices are making themselves heard, for example former U.S. Secretary of State Kissinger, claiming that certain foreign forces were behind the assassination, backed by the enemies of the United States and Egypt. This reaction, too, was to be expected. It was just a question of time to see who would come forward with it, and where. And the fact that this occurred precisely in the United States reveals more clearly than anything else who wants to make political capital from this tragic event, and who intends to continue to stir up unrest and conflict in the entire region.

It is merely a continuation of the same hopeless policy which the United States has been advocating in the Near East for many years -- a policy at variance with the interests of the Arab peoples and so of the people of Egypt.

Anti-Peace Policy

LD081040 Prague CTK in English 0804 GMT 8 Oct 81

[Text] Prague, 8 Oct (CTK) -- Today's RUDE PRAVO said that the assassination of the Egyptian president cannot be viewed as a generally acceptable fact but that it is an objective fact that As-Sadat had many opponents at home and abroad because of the bad and sad things that happened to Egypt in the eleven years of his presidency.

The daily described as an "untruthful legend" when he was said to have made "courageous" steps towards peace. "On the contrary, peace is today more distant than ever before. By his allying Egypt to Israel and placing himself and Egypt at the disposal of American imperialism, As-Sadat increased the aggressiveness and expansionism of these two main enemies of the Arab national liberation movement. He was an active partner in the brutal attempts to suppress the Palestinian resistance movement. In consequence of the Camp David accords and the separate treaty with Israel, Egyptian sovereignty over its own territory was not to be complete, not even in the future. That is why his policy was not a peace policy but an anti-peace one, not Arab but anti-Arab and anti-Palestinian, not national but anti-national," RUDE PRAVO said.

"In view of the role played by As-Sadat in America's plans in the Middle East, the question is now what the future developments will be in the area, what the fate will be of the Camp David accords. Official Cairo has expressed assurances that nothing will be changed in Egyptian policy. The (?response) in Western capitals indicates that in long-term outlook, there is not much certainty that this will be so. Time will show whether As-Sadat's death by violence was a milestone in developments, and in what respect."

POLISH SOLIDARITY CONGRESS ACTIONS CRITICIZED

'Laws Defied'

AU071518 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 Oct 81 p 7

[Jan Lipavsky Warsaw dispatch: "'Solidarity' Defies the Laws; Open Attacks on the Sejm and the Government"]

[Text] Warsaw, 5 October -- Sunday night, Minister of Finance M. Krzak and State Price Commission Chairman Z. Krasinski were explaining at "Solidarity's" get-together [sraz] how the government "dared" to raise the price for cigarettes and matches, even though in June and July "Solidarity" representatives J. Rulewski and B. Lis clearly said during talks with the government that the price of cigarettes is within the jurisdiction of the Council of Ministers.

At the end of this conflict, after midnight when the hall seethed like an overheated boiler, Walesa resolutely called on the government to annul the price increases, irrespective of the fact that the new prices have only just come into force.

On Monday, the "Solidarity" get-together in Gdansk was settling accounts with people's power in other ways. In its resolution on self-management, it defies the law adopted by the Sejm, thereby ignoring the country's supreme legislative body. It places itself above the Sejm and -- contrary to the law and the regulations governing the law's execution -- plans to cast doubt on the law by instructing its enterprise organizations to organize a referendum about the legal documents adopted by the Sejm. Moreover, the Gdansk get-together calls on the "Solidarity" enterprise organizations to set up without delay their own "self-management bodies" on the basis of the "principles stipulated by the Solidarity congress," which means contrary to valid legal provisions.

Also approved was a provocative resolution on national education which denies and besmirches the achievements of Polish science and culture thus far and demands "Solidarity's" control over the educational system. Toward the end, the document even notes that "Solidarity" will "develop its own forms of educational activity."

The congress also committed all its regional organizations to immediately and resolutely protest whenever steps are taken against those who slander the socialist system, insult party and state representatives, attack the Polish People's Republic's ties of alliance and so forth. One of the spokesmen of the so-called network of union press even declared at a press conference that in the event of such "reprisals," the individual regional leaderships would prevent the publication of the party press. He literally said that in such cases, "Solidarity" will be guided by the principle of an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth.

Growing Public Distrust

LD071714 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0600 GMT 7 Oct 81

[From the "Minutes From Abroad" Program, presented by Petr Nemec]

[Text] First, Poland: The marathon Solidarity congress continues in Gdansk. Frantisek Sojka, our permanent correspondent in the Polish People's Republic, sums up:

Still more people in Poland look with concern and growing distrust upon the 900 participants in the Solidarity congress whose speeches are full of alleged concern about the development of the situation, but they continue to sit in Gdansk with their arms folded. The deliberations are becoming still more monotonous and are boring delegates and observers to death.

Yesterday, there was a stormy discussion about the incomes of functionaries and the payment of membership dues, among other things. Further rounds of elections to the statewide Coordination Commission were held.

Concerning the Solidarity program, a question was raised at last night's press conference about whether the program will correspond to the scores of adopted resolutions. And because not even the representative of the congress Presidium was able to say how many of these resolutions there have already been, foreign and Polish journalists had to be satisfied with a statement that the program commission is working on it.

Then the cigarette war was discussed. Solidarity started it against the government after the increase in the prices of tobacco products. Statements by representatives of Solidarity connected with broader economic questions and the economic program of this so-called trade union association, because of their naive character evoked laughter and open astonishment a number of times.

Just how dangerous for the present deepening crisis are the attacks on the PZPR and the socialist system is shown by the forecast of further strikes which are to start 3 days after the end of the congress.

Second Stage Analyzed

LD071934 Prague in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1630 GMT 7 Oct 81

[Text] Here is a comment written by Radio Prague's Jiri Jakoubek which analyze the outcome of the second stage of Solidarity's national congress now underway in Poland's Baltic Port of Gdansk.

Curb the influence of the communists, reduce parliaments' powers to steer the national economy, reintroduce private ownership, get hold of the key industrial and agricultural establishments. These and similar slogans characterize the atmosphere at the congress which was clearly turned into a rostrum of antisocialist forces. Any unbiased observer is bound to draw the conclusion that Solidarity is rallying forces for the struggle for political powers in the country. (?Those at) the Gdansk congress cannot be bothered by securing a smooth run of Poland's socialist and private sectors by efforts to produce more and keep home markets alive. The Czechoslovak people have rather strong feelings about Solidarity's battle cry: (?Reverse) the situation (?for Better for Worse).

In this country reactionary forces have used it twice. First in 1947 when the long, hot and dry summer destroyed most of the vitally needed crops and the cattle were dying of thirst. And then in 1968 when counterrevolutionaries were trying to estrange Czechoslovakia from the socialist fold. In either case the main thrust was directed against the Soviet Union. And indeed, anti-Sovietism has become the key weapon of the Solidarity trade union too. Within Solidarity there exist people ready to resort to the meanest methods, including acts of defacing graves of the Soviet soldiers who sacrificed their lives during the liberation of Poland in World War II.

The Gdansk congress now calls on the nation to throw away all its socialist achievements. Calls for confrontation with the Polish United Workers Party and Government are being accompanied by such brazen provocations as the claims that the government has allegedly failed to consult Solidarity prior to announcing new higher prices of tobacco. Nor can Solidarity be bothered by the efforts of the government to find a solution to Poland's grave socio-economic problems. On the contrary, what it needs now is chaos and internal instability.

Walesa's 'Moderation' Denied

AU071440 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 5 Oct 81 p 3

[Zdenek Jirku Warsaw Dispatch: "Where the Mind Boggles"]

[Text] Some journalists and professional politicians describe L. Walesa's victory in the elections for "Solidarity" chairman as evidence of the moderate line of the Gdansk congress. However, this is a very naive view because it is precisely Walesa who has initiated most conflicts with the government, who carefully listens to the voice of the Polish episcopate and whose advisers make no secret of their regular contact with "certain American institutions." Of course, even the victory of J. Rulewski or A. Gwiazda would not change "Solidarity's" orientation in the least. True, their speeches are more radical, they also hold PZPR membership cards, but both of them are members of the National Consultative Commission, a body that is officially "Solidarity's" supreme organ but which, in reality, is merely the executive body for Kuron, Lipinski and other experts in anticommunist policy.

If last weekend yielded a significant event, it was certainly the publication of another issue of the Marxist periodical RZECZYWISTOSC. I have learned from it, among other things, about a new scandal concerning Bratkowski, chairman of the union of Polish Journalists. This gentleman, it transpires from documents, has been receiving handsome sums from the British Data Loop company through a peculiar inventor called Karpinski. The affair was quite trivial. It concerned a small calculator, assembled rather transparently from imported components and exported to England, on the basis of a gentlemen's agreement. One might be tempted to say -- so what, an ordinary corrupt affair. However, since it concerns a journalist who is driving members of Polish editorial staffs into the opposition camp, openly addresses threats to journalists who write the truth about "Solidarity," and, on top of that, would like to launch an international career for himself -- the mind boggles.

On 1 October new price increases were effected in Poland, certainly not the last ones. However, if the government is to stabilize the market situation at least to a small degree, it cannot avoid harsh measures. People themselves, however, ask why the state bodies do not take equally energetic action against those who have caused the economic crisis. The problem is that the new economic legislature permits the ministries only to advise and not to decide. It is the self-management bodies that have the main say in the enterprises. You will surely not find it difficult to guess who selects the people in them and by what methods.

CHNOUPEK ADDRESS TO UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY

AU051336 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 1 Oct 81 p 6

["Text" of speech by Bohuslav Chnoupek, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, delivered at the 30 September session of the 36th UN General Assembly in New York, entitled "We Are in Favor of Dialogue and Cooperation" -- capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] New York, 30 Sep (CTK) -- BOHUSLAV CHNOUPEK, CSSR MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND THE HEAD OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK DELEGATION, SPOKE IN THE GENERAL DEBATE AT THE 36TH SESSION OF THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY IN NEW YORK ON WEDNESDAY. THE FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF HIS SPEECH:

Year after year our forum meets here to assess the most important issues of the state of the world. Year after year an important impetus comes from here for arranging matters in such a way as to rid mankind of fear and mutual distrust to enable it to embark upon a path lending universal validity to the principles of the UN Charter, in harmony with man's greatness, with the perpetuity of his creative deeds.

However, never before have we faced such a strange dilemma, one full of contradictions. One has the endeavor to continue the process of detente on the one hand, while convulsively pressing for a return to the "cold war" on the other. One has the efforts of the peace-loving forces -- in whose front ranks Czechoslovakia is an active fighter -- for averting confrontation. But, at the same time, one has the current attempts to gain military superiority and hegemonist world rule. One has the universal awareness, confirmed by heart and mind, of the inadmissibility of nuclear war, and against that the plans and preparations for some sort of "limited" nuclear war.

Detente Does Not Suit Imperialism

And all this only because the policy of detente does not suit the bellicose forces of imperialism and hegemonism. Therefore, trying to create fear with a nonexistent danger from the East, they are starting new rounds of feverish armament. Therefore, hypocritically pinning the label of "international terrorism" on others, they are terrorizing entire continents. Therefore, demagogically accusing the socialist countries of violating human rights, they let political prisoners die of starvation and prepare the fate of unemployment for millions. Therefore, condemning others without reason, they are shedding the blood of innocent people in El Salvador, in southern Africa and elsewhere. Therefore, passing off issues such as free trade or reviving investment, important as they may be, as almost the only key problem of the present-day world, they are diverting attention from the most important tasks of the present: from maintaining peace, security, disarmament, the struggle against the exploitation of the developing countries by supranational monopolies, and the struggle against colonialism, neocolonialism, racism, Zionism and apartheid. THESE FORCES, NO DOUBT, ARE TO BLAME FOR THE COMPLICATED INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS.

And precisely in this complicated situation, as always in such situations, the responsibility of all those to whom the fate of mankind is dear is increasing. And thus also the responsibility of our organization -- to put an end to these adventures. Not trying to stop the arrow only after it has left the bow. Not to permit any of the peace and disarmament resolutions we have adopted simply to be shelved but, on the contrary, to strive to make every politician, public official and diplomat actively commit himself to ensure that they are implemented.

Let the unlimited armament programs of imperialism, aimed at gaining military superiority, be a warning. Although they remind one of the vain efforts to square the circle, their objective results are ever more modern, more accurate and more effecient weapons. Friedrich Engels' words that "Day after day technology mercilessly discards on the scrap heap novelties that have scarcely been introduced, while ever newer explosives of unprecedented effectiveness are emerging; and, of course, it is not quite certain who will suffer in the end -- the one that is shooting or the one that is being shot at" are topical as ever.

THEREFORE IT IS IN EVERYBODY'S INTEREST TO PUT UP AN EFFECTIVE BARRIER IN THE PATH OF WAR AND ITS MATERIAL PREPARATIONS BEFORE IT IS TOO LATE. WE ARE EXPOSING THE SOPHISTRY WITH WHICH WAR AND ARMAMENTS ARE BEING JUSTIFIED. ALL THOSE DECEPTIONS ABOUT THE COMPATIBILITY OF "MILITARY AUGMENTATION AND DISARMAMENT." ALL THOSE FALSE ARGUMENTS ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF WAGING A "HUMANE" NUCLEAR WAR. ALL THOSE DEEDS WHOSE CULMINATION IS THE TERRIBLE DECISION TO MANUFACTURE THE NEUTRON BOMB, WHICH THE CZECHOSLOVAK PEOPLE, TOGETHER WITH THE PEACE-LOVING PUBLIC OF THE WHOLE WORLD RESOLUTELY CONDEMN AND WHICH ALSO DESERVES TO BE CONDEMNED BY OUR ORGANIZATION. ALL THFSE ATTEMPTS TO WAGE A WAR IN EUROPE WITH EUROPEAN HANDS, IN ASIA WITH ASIAN HANDS, IN AFRICA WITH AFRICAN HANDS WITH THE AIM TO TRANSFORM OUR CONTINENTS INTO A THEATER OF A "LIMITED NUCLEAR WARFARE."

Is it not a mockery of our peaceable and peace-promoting organization when a representative of a state that is a permanent member of the Security Council asserts that there are "more important things than peace," and another one that "each generation must have its war"? Is this naivete? Intention? Or a real preparation for a war?

Not like that! ONLY DIALOGUE AND COOPERATION CAN REALLY AND REALISTICALLY RESOLVE ALL CONTENTIOUS ISSUES IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. There is no problem we would not be willing to resolve by negotiations. THE ERA IN WHICH ONE COUNTRY COULD CONDUCT THE WORLD WITH THE AID OF A NUCLEAR BATON IS DEFINITELY OVER. has to come finally to terms with this fact. Equally, one cannot be a part of the existing system of international relations and at the same time ignore the call of the overwhelming majority of mankind for peace. Look how tenaciously the European nations are opposing the American military plans now! Thus the only well-tried and only sensible thing is to revive the cooperation of the seventies and continue implementing the letter and the spirit of the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference.

This is obviously why in the current debate, if we listen carefully, we can hear such a strong call from all contingents for the continuation of the policy of detente. This, as we have said frequently, is the only sensible alternative, reflecting the high wave of antimissile and antineutron opposition of the broad masses of Western Europe -- and not only them -- against war and its preparations.

It really is like it has already been said here this year: When some sort of a bureaucrat, who -- as soon as he gets into the government -- invents a new doctrine, that does not in any way mean that everyone has to dance to his tune. Those times really are gone forever.

Soviet Peace Proposals -- The Right Direction

What instruments are we to look for to improve the present complicated international atmosphere? What effective measures are we to employ in the interest of further developing the process of detente? Our view is that these are contained in the broad complex of the Soviet peace proposals submitted by L.I. Brezhnev at the 26th CPSU Congress.

This peace program for the eighties -- as President Gustav Husak stated at the 16th CPCZ Congress -- also constitutes a concentrated expression of our vital interests.

Therefore, it would show an unforgivably scornful contempt for the most intrinsic interests of nations should those to whom the peace-loving message of the Soviet people is addressed to only "study" it or even reject it. After all, only discussing -- not to mention implementing -- any of their proposals would give mankind a chance to breathe easier.

The following are the main proposals involved:

-- The Soviet Union's appeal for an immediate resumption of an all-round dialogue with the United States at the highest level, and especially the talks on strategic weapons limitation, while maintaining all that has been accomplished thus far;

-- The proposal for a moratorium on deploying new medium-range missiles;

-- The proposal to expand the confidence-building measures as regards their content as well, on the basis of mutuality, at the regional level. The proposal constitutes an immensely valuable impetus for resolving the key question of the Madrid meeting;

-- The long-planned and universally awaited decision on convening a conference on military detente and disarmament in Europe. We hope that the NATO countries will realize their political responsibility and in the second stage of the meeting will contribute to its successful conclusion;

--The proposal to discuss at this session the issue of concluding a treaty banning the stationing of any weapons in space. Like all peace-loving countries, we too are extraordinarily concerned that space never become a new arena of the arms race, the more so since 3 years ago Czechoslovakia -- after the USSR and the United States -- was the third country to send one of its citizens to space -- thanks to the cooperation with the USSR.

ONE HAS TO PARTICULARLY EMPHASIZE THE APPEAL RECENTLY VOICED BY A.A. GROMYKO, USSR MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, THAT THE UNITED NATIONS ADOPT A NEW POLITICAL DOCUMENT OF GREAT FUNDAMENTAL SIGNIFICANCE -- THE DECLARATION ON AVERTING NUCLEAR CATASTROPHE, ON CONDEMNING THE USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS FIRST AS THE GREATEST CRIME AGAINST MANKIND.

We express the conviction that the current session will also become an important stage for preparing the upcoming second special session of the UN General Assembly on disarmament, which could become the bridgehead for holding the world conference on disarmament. In that respect, we are ready -- as we have been until now within the framework of the Geneva committee as well as in the planned committee -- to actively cooperate with all delegations.

WE ARE IN FAVOR OF A SPEEDY AND CONCRETE SOLUTION OF A BROAD RANGE OF DISARMAMENT PROBLEMS, BEGINNING WITH THE ISSUES OF NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT AND PARTIAL MEASURES, SUCH AS A TOTAL BAN ON TESTING NUCLEAR WEAPONS, THE BAN ON CHEMICAL AND RADIOLOGICAL WEAPONS AND ON STRENGTHENING THE GUARANTEES OF THE NONNUCLEAR COUNTRIES' SECURITY, ALL THE WAY TO CREATING ZONES OF PEACE IN VARIOUS PARTS OF THE WORLD AND REDUCING MILITARY BUDGETS. ALL THIS IS BASED ON THE PRINCIPLE OF EQUALITY AND EQUAL SECURITY.

However, these objectives can be achieved only with the sincere interest and political good will of all states. THEY ARE THE ONES WHICH CONSTITUTE THE MAINSTAYS OF THE UN DECLARATION ON INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION FOR ACHIEVING THE OBJECTIVES OF DISARMAMENT ADOPTED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY ON OUR INITIATIVE IN 1979. IT IS PRECISELY IN THE PRESENT INTERNATIONAL SITUATION THAT WE REGARD IT AS NECESSARY THAT THIS WORLD FORUM REEMPHASIZE THE DECLARATION'S IMPORTANCE AS THE FUNDAMENTAL "CODEX" OF STATES' BEHAVIOR DURING DISARMAMENT NEGOTIATIONS. IT WOULD BE USEFUL IF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY APPEALED FOR ITS CONSISTENT FULFILLMENT AND IMPLEMENTATION IN LIFE, that it again mobilize states' political will to international cooperation during international disarmament negotiations, not contingent on any preliminary conditions or issues which are not directly connected with them. One should also appeal to all states to refrain from any actions which could make achieving concrete disarmament results more difficult or impossible. In this sense we intend to submit an appropriate draft resolution this year.

We are vitally interested in Europe's permanently becoming a zone of stable peace and constructive cooperation. We feel -- as a country located exactly in the heart of Europe -- vitally threatened by the NATO plans to deploy new American medium-range nuclear missiles in a number of West European countries. The realization of those plans, motivated by the endeavor to gain strategic military superiority for the West, could be connected with far-reaching negative consequences for peace and security on this continent -- and not only here.

Therefore, we invest great hopes in the USSR-U.S. negotiations on limiting nuclear weapons in Europe, agreed on literally only a few steps away from this hall at the recent meeting of ministers A.A. Gromyko and A. Haig. And, above all, we invest great hopes in the conclusion of an agreement on limiting, or even better reducing, the number of medium range nuclear weapons. This should be done in parallel and organically linked with the corresponding American forward-based nuclear systems, while respecting all factors determining the strategic situation on the European Continent. Only in this manner, in fact, can one maintain the existing approximate parity.

Progress made at the Vienna negotiations on reducing the number of armed forces and armament in central Europe too, would contribute to strengthening detente and security in Europe. These negotiations -- through no fault of ours -- have been in a blind alley for a few years now.

We fully sympathize with the endeavors to create a nuclear-free zone in northern Europe.

It is our opinion that the Mediterranean Sea must also be transformed into a zone of lasting peace and fruitful cooperation. This also is underscored by the recent aggressive attack by American armed forces on Libya.

CSSR's Consistent And Cordinated Policy

SOCIALIST CZECHOSLOVAKIA, AS A FIRM COMPONENT OF THE WARSAW PACT AND CEMA, IS CONSISTENTLY IMPLEMENTING A COORDINATED POLICY AIMED AT ENSURING WORLD PEACE AND DETENTE. THIS POLICY -- ELABORATED BY THE CONGRESSES OF OUR PARTIES AND GIVEN A VALUABLE IMPETUS BY THE SESSION OF THE POLITICAL CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE, THE MEETINGS IN THE CRIMEA ON THE HIGHEST LEVEL AND THE SESSION OF THE COMMITTEE OF MINISTERS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS -- IS OUR LONG-RANGE AS WELL AS EVERYDAY TASK.

We are the more profoundly distressed by the situation in the Polish People's Republic, which is our immediate neighbor and with which we are connected by a millenium of history the longest border, and what is most important -- the joint path in the construction of socialism. We express the conviction that the Polish leadership will ward off the attacks of external and domestic enemies of socialism. We fully share its view that only socialist Poland -- the class ally of its friends -- can constructively contribute to the cause of peaceful relations in Europe and be a factor in stable Europe.

Equally, we cannot remain indifferent to the imperialist intrigues around socialist Cuba, which we very resolutely condemn and emphatically demand be immediately halted.

We regard lively and systematic political contacts with the participants in the Helsinki Conference to be particularly valuable and literally irreplaceable for our policy of peaceful coexistence between states having different social systems. For that reason we are developing them systematically and with a long-range view. We consistently ensure that treaties, through which we have normalized relations with a number of countries, particularly the FRG and Austria, are observed. In this way we are striving for good neighborly relations and cooperation with them. We maintain an efficiently functioning system of political consultations with Finland, France, Great Britain, Canada, Turkey, Greece, Cyprus, Italy, Denmark, Belgium, The Netherlands, Norway, Sweden and Luxembourg. We are systematically developing broad -- unprecedented -- economic cooperation as well as lively cultural relations. In this connection we also expect that our constructive approach to solving property right issues with the United States will lead to the return of our golden treasure stolen by the Nazis and thus to the removal of obstacles which are still an impediment to our mutual relations. We are taking a similar position in the not dissimilar negotiations with Great Britain, also expecting the same approach from its side.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA IS DEVELOPING ALL-ROUND, MUTUALLY ADVANTAGEOUS RELATIONS WITH THE ABSOLUTE MAJORITY OF STATES OF AFRICA, ASIA AND LATIN AMERICA. The results of the recent official visit by CSSR President Gustav Husak to Libya, Ethiopia and the PDRY are further evidence of that. We want to continue our already traditional good relations with India and develop our relations with other countries.

Constructive Approach to International Problems

Last year I said from this rostrum that there had been no progress in solving the Middle East situation. This year I can only add with regret that the solution is even further away. The reason for this is the aggressive policy of Tel Aviv and the support given to it by imperialism, the guarantor of the unheard of piratical forays. Is there no other way to refer to these Israeli attack on the Iraqi nuclear reactor near Baghdad? How are we to reconcile ourselves to Israeli paratroopers penetrating the sovereign territory of neighboring Lebanon? How else are we to assess the efforts of the United States to gain also a military foothold there.

It is becoming ever more obvious -- as we have been claiming right from the beginning -- that the Camp David accords will not lead to the settlement of the Middle East crisis. THE OVERALL POLITICAL SETTLEMENT MUST BE FOUNDED ON RESPECT FOR THE LEGITIMATE RIGHTS OF ALL STATES AND NATIONS IN THAT REGION. This envisages a speedy withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab territories occupied since 1967, fully respecting the right of the Arab people of Palestine to self-determination, including their own independent state, and ensuring the security and sovereignty of all states in the Middle East. We also are in favor of convening an international conference attended by all interested parties, including the PLO, to eliminate this dangerous hotbed of tension.

WE FULLY SUPPORT THE JUST EFFORTS OF THE AFGHAN PEOPLE FOR THE DEVELOPMENT AND DEFENSE OF THE ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE APRIL 1978 REVOLUTION AND OF THE NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AGAINST THE ATTACKS OF COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY FORCES, SUPPORTED BY IMPERIALISM AND HEGEMONISM. As we emphasized during the recent visit in the CSSR by a party and government delegation of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, led by B. Karmal, we resolutely support the concrete and realistic proposals of the Afghan Government of 14 May 1980, aimed at normalizing relations with neighboring countries -- with Pakistan and Iran, and the expanded declaration of 24 August 1981. We believe that the cause of peace would be well served if the two countries accepted miniters Dost's constructive appeal voiced from this rostrum, aimed at discussing these proposals on a bilateral or trilateral basis as early as this session. However, no negotiations or conferences can be held without the participation of the sole legitimate government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. A discussion of the country's internal situation is wholly unacceptable.

WE FULLY JOIN THE VOICES OF THOSE WHO SUPPORT THE INITIATIVES AND CONSTRUCTIVE PROPOSALS OF THE SRV, LAOS AND KAMPUCHEA, AIMED AT STRENGTHENING TRUST AND TRANSFORMING SOUTEAST ASIA INTO A REGION OF PEACE AND STABILITY, INCLUDING THE PROJECT OF A REGIONAL CONFERENCE ATTENDED BY THE COUNTRIES OF INDOCHINA AND THE ASEAN MEMBER STATES. At the same time we condemn with all vehemence the hostile maneuvering with the artificially construed Kampuchean question. This also fully applies to the so-called international conference on Kampuchea, which was a gross violation of the principles of the UN Charter and an interference in the internal affairs of that country. We hope that one will not again succeed in misusing the name of the United Nations to dubious objectives as is being done by some countries.

We are of the irreversible opinion that it is necessary to put an end to persons, who represent no one and who are responsible for the genocide of millions of their fellow citizens, holding posts which for a long time have already belonged to the legitimate representatives of the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

The policy of introducing unrest, instability and conflicts into Southeast Asia and other regions -- this product of imperialism's teaming up with the current Chinese leadership -- is at steep variance with the needs of world peace and the vital needs of all nations. The consequences of Beijing's hegemonist and aggressive policy can bring nothing good either to China or its people. As far as we are concerned, Czechoslovakia is prepared, as we have stressed more than once already, to improve the interstate relations with the PRC while consistently maintaining the fundamental principles of our foreign policy.

CONCRETE TALKS ON CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES IN THE REGION OF THE INDIAN OCEAN AND FAR EAST, AS PROPOSED BY THE SOVIET UNION, WOULD ALSO SIGNIFICANTLY CONTRIBUTE TO THE OVERALL STRENGTHENING OF SECURITY AND PEACE IN THIS REGION AND THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

WE ALSO REGARD AS HIGHLY USEFUL THE MPR PROPOSAL ON CONCLUDING A CONVENTION ON THE MUTUAL NONATTACK AND RENUNCIATION OF THE USE OF FORCE AMONG STATES IN ASIA AND SOUTH PACIFIC.

OUR VIEW ON THE KOREAN QUESTION IS THAT IT MUST BE RESOLVED BY PEACEFUL MEANS. Our view also is that the appropriate proposals of the DPRK are the suitable basis for that.

We continue to support ensuring the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and the nonaligned status of the Republic of Cyprus. We believe that the continuing contacts between the representatives of the two Cypriot communities will take this direction.

The racist Pretoria regime continues, with lasting all-round and overt Western support, to brutally trample the fundamental human rights of the African population. At variance with the Security Council Resolution No. 435 it illegally occupies Namibia in an effort to transform it with the assistance of the so-called group of five into a neocolonial state structure and paralyze the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people, SWAPO. CZECHOSLOVAKIA IS IN FULL SOLIDARITY WITH THE JUST STRUGGLE OF THE PEOPLE OF NAMIBIA, LED BY SWAPO, FOR ACHIEVING FULL INDEPENDENCE. Equally so we support the efforts of the people of the Republic of South Africa to liquidate apartheid and racial discrimination.

WE CONDEMN QUITE CATEGORICALLY THE OVERT, RUTHLESS AGGRESSION OF SOUTH AFRICAN RACISTS AGAINST ANGOLA, GROSSLY INSULTING OUR ORGANIZATION AND JEOPARDIZING INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY.

We resolutely support the conclusions of the Paris international conference on sanctions against the Republic of South Africa and of the recent extraordinary General Assembly session on Namibia. We are in favor of the Security Council imposing sanctions on the racist South African regime in accordance with article VII of the charter.

WE HIGHLY VALUE THE STRUGGLE OF THE NONALIGNED MOVEMENT AGAINST IMPERIALISM, COLONIALISM AND RACISM, AND FOR PEACE AND SOCIAL PROGRESS. In the past 20 years of its existence, the movement fully proved that it is a significant and irreplaceable positive factor of international life. This movement -- observing the peaceable and anti-imperialist principles on which it is built -- can precisely now significantly help improve the complex international situation.

We continue to support the demands of the developing countries for changing international economic relations on a just, equal and democratic foundation, proceeding in this form our principled positions on resolving this problem.

The entire history of mankind reveals that the wisdom and sense of statement's responsibility are being particularly tested in complex international conditions. Making a political situation worse is no art. Alleviating tension and preventing the worst is much more difficult. And this is what we must be interested in above all.

From the first days of the United Nations' existence, at whose cradle we stood in San Francisco, we have always believed that it has the place of honor in mankind's endeavor to ensure a secure peace today and tomorrow. That is how we, in Czechoslovakia, think. And we are purposefully striving for the support by all member countries of the UN Charter which is everlasting and requires no changes in its content. We are convinced that our current session will put into the service of the noblest ideal of human society -- the ideal of peace and cooperation -- all the potential, influence and authority of its worldwide status.

Socialist Czechoslovakia will commit all its energy for the succ s of this cause.

ERICH HONECKER CABLES ACTING EGYPT PRESIDENT

LD071810 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1737 GMT 7 Oct 81

[Text] Berlin, 7 Oct (ADN) -- Chairman of the GDR State Council Erich Honecker sent a telegram of condolences to the acting president of the Arab Republic of Egypt, Dr Sufi Abu Talib, on the occasion of the death of Anwar as-Sadat, president and prime minister of the Arab Republic of Egypt.

NATIONAL DAY MARKED WITH PARADE, FESTIVITIES

Officials in Attendance

LD071016 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0900 GMT 7 Oct 81

[Text] Berlin, 7 Oct (ADN) -- A parade of honor by the National People's Army [NVA] marked the beginning in Berlin this morning of the 32d anniversary of the GDR. Tens of thousands of the capital's citizens lined the parade route in Karl-Marx-Allee during the morning hours of the GDR's national day. Tumultuous applause and cheers resounded for Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and other members of the party and state leadership who watched the parade.

Erich Honecker was also accompanied by Premier Willi Stoph and People's Chamber President Horst Sindermann. Guests at the parade were army Gen Mikhail Zaytsev, commander in chief of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany (GSFG), Col Gen Ivan Gubin, member of the Military Council and chief of Political Adminstration of the GSFG, and army Gen Ivan Shavrov, representative of the supreme commander of the Joint Forces of the Warsaw Pact states in the GDR National People's Army. Other guests at this traditional event were heads of diplomatic missions accredited to the GDR, including the doyen of the diplomatic corps, Soviet Ambassador Petr Abrasimov, as well as military and defense attaches.

'Parade of Honor' 7 Oct

DW071209 [Editorial Report] East Berlin Domestic Television Service in German at 0855 GMT on 7 October 1981 begins a live relay of the "parade of honor of the GDR National People's Army and Border Troops marking the GDR's 32d anniversary, with Gero Schreier reporting from Karl-Marx-Allee.

At 0900 GMT the reporter says that Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and other members of the party-state leadership take their positions on the reviewing stand in Karl-Marx-Allee. The military ceremonies begin immediately.

The reporter says that the commander of the parade is Col Gen Horst Stechbarth, deputy minister of national defense and chief of the land forces, who reports the parade is standing by to Minister of National Defense army Gen Heinz Hoffmann. Hoffmann in turn greets the parade units and congratulates them on the GDR's national holiday, and the individual units answer with a triple "hurrah."

The GDR national anthem is then played, and at 0911 GMT the military parade begins. The first unit marching past the reviewing stand is made up of members of the Friedrich Engels Military Academy, headed by academy chief Lt Gen Hans Wiesner. According to the reporter, the sequence of the next marching blocks is as follows: two detachments of officer candidates from the Ernst Thaelmann Officer College of the Land forces; students from the Franz Mehring Officer College of the Air Force/Air Defense; two formations of officer students from the Rosa Luxemburg Officer College of the Border Troops; and detachments from the Karl Liebknecht Officer College of the GDR People's Navy and of the mate trainees of the Walter Steffens Naval School.

The motorized part of the parade begins at 0918 GMT, with the reporter noting that Maj Gen Siegfried Zabel, commanding officer of a motorized infantry division, is heading the formations of this parade section. Following him are paratroopers from the Willi Saenger troop component riding on cross- country vehicles. A reconnaissance unit on amphibious armored personnel carriers with "excellent cross-country capabilities" is next in the parade, followed by the units of the Hans Beimler Motorized Infantry Regiment.

The reporter describes the next unit as a detachment of antitank guided missiles, a weapons system "which excels with its high degree of accuracy and effectiveness against armored targets." The reporter says that "the commanding officer of the artillery unit which follows is Col Hans (Kierling), a graduate of the Leningrad Kalinin Academy."

The reporter tells the listeners that next in the parade is a detachment of 40-barrel rocket launchers mounted on Tatra trucks. Next follow gunners of the Paul Sasnowski troop component with their "long-range 130-mm guns." More artillery units follow, headed by an antitank detachment of the troop component commanded by Maj Bernd Leine. This detachment's 100-mm antitank guns are drawn by light amphibious tracked vehicles. Next follows a detachment of self-propelled 152-mm howitzers from the Hans Fischer troop component.

The reporter then notes that a detachment of motorized infantry from the Paul Hegenbarth troop component marches past the reviewing stand, riding on the "tested BMP armored personnel carriers." They are followed by formations from an armored regiment of the Julian Malchewski troop component with T-55 tanks with which the soldiers of this troop component scored good results in marksmanship and in "underwater driving." Next is a detachment of the "new weapons system, the T-72 tank" which "fully meets the requirements of modern combat."

The reporter goes on to report that the parade continues with a unit from the "Air Defense troops of the land Forces" headed by "self-propelled antiaircraft systems, also referred to as (Shilka)." This is followed by "triple ground-to-air missile complexes of the Air-Defense Troops" and a detachment of twin ground-to-air missiles. "The parade formation of the ground-to-air missiles of Air Defense is made up of soldiers of the Hermann Dunker component."

Bringing up the rear of the motorized section and marking the conclusion of the "parade of honor" are "tactical and operational-tactical missiles of the Land Forces." In conclusion the reporter then says that the parade will be rebroadcast at 1530 GMT on 6 October. The relay ends at 0935 GMT.

Honecker Attends Festivities

LD071952 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1818 GMT 8 Oct 81

[Text] Berlin, 7 Oct (ADN) -- A festive reception on Wednesday closed the festivities on occasion of the republic's 32d anniversary. The invitations had been issued by the SED Central Committee, the State Council and the Council of Ministers of the GDR to attend festivities in the Palace of the Republic at the Berlin Marx-Engels-Platz. With the general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, Erich Honecker, and other members of the party and state leadership, the evening brought together meritorious workers from all spheres of social life. Among them were people who were honored with high state awards on occasion of the national day.

Erich Honecker thanked all the citizens and all the workers in the cities and in the country for their hard work and creativeness, for their active contribution to the good development of the German Democratic Republic.

Present at the festive reception together with Erich Honecker were SED Central Committee Politburo members and candidate members Willi Stoph, chairman of the Council of Ministers; Horst Sindermann, president of the People's Chamber; Horst Dohlus, Kurt Hager, Joachim Herrmann, Heinz Hoffmann, Werner Krolikowski, Erich Mielke, Guenter Mittag, Erich Mueckenberger, Harry Tisch, Paul Verner, Werner Jarowinsky, Guenter Schabowski and Gerhard Schuerer.

Also present were members of the State Council, the Council of Ministers, the People's Chamber, the SED Central Committee, chairmen of mass organizations and other public figures of the parties and mass organizations united in the National Front, as well as veterans of the workers' movement.

The festive reception was attended by the doyen of the diplomatic corps, USSR Ambassador Petr Abrasimov, and diplomats from all parts of the world. Ambassadors from the socialist countries, developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, as well as from industrial capitalist countries, were present at the reception.

Also present were generals and officers of the GDR Armed Forces and the Soviet Army, among them the commander in chief of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany, Army Gen Mikhail Zaytsev, and member of the Military Council and head of the Political Administration of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany, Ivan Gubin.

In addition to meritorious working people, the guests included artists and cultural workers and representatives of GDR churches.

In the course of the evening numerous friendly encounters and talks took place between the party and state leadership and guests. Working people took the opportunity to report on fresh initiatives since the 10th SED Congress for strengthening socialism and peace. Diplomats combined their congratulations on the GDR's national holiday with expressions of their high esteem for the GDR and its consistent peace policy.

The reception ended with a festive cultural program provided by prominent GDR artists.

Honecker Toast

LD072244 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1914 GMT 7 Oct 81

["Text" of toast by Erich Honecker, chairman of the GDR State Council, at 7 October reception in Berlin's Palace of the Republic on the occasion of the 32nd anniversary of the GDR]

[Text] Berlin, 7 Oct (ADN) -- The citizens of our country are filled with pride that a socialist state is developing on German soil as a result of their hard work, in which the well-being of the people is put first for the first time in history.

Our national day this year takes place fully and completely against the background of the resolutions for the 10th SED Congress. The results are already presentable.

The citizens of the GDR unanimously showed their support for the election program of the National Front in the national elections which lie behind us, and sent their deputies to the people's supreme representation. The national economy has continued to develop dynamically in spite of the known difficulties of the world economy. Our policy of full employment is proving to be a policy of the well-being of the people in the truest sense of the word.

It is a sign of the modern organization of our national economy that the produced national income up to September this year rose by 5 percent in contrast to the same period last year.

The industrial production of goods rose by 5.6 percent, labor productivity rose by 5.2 percent. The cooperative peasants had a relatively good harvest. Agriculture overfulfilled its plan with 137,000 tons of meat, 58,000 tons of milk and 250 million eggs. The net income of the population rose by 3.1 percent, the turnover in the retail trade with stable prices for basic goods also by 3.1 percent. Through the initiative of the trade unions increased output equivalent to 2.4 work-days over the plan, with essentially the same raw material and energy resources, was achieved.

Without question this is an enormous success at a time when the Western countries are speaking of "zero growth", or even "minus growth". Rightly, the citizens of our country regard all this as a contribution to the stabilization of the situation in Europe, as expression of the superiority of the socialist planned economy.

On our national day it is my wish to thank most cordially all the workers in the cities and in the country for their hard work and their creativity, their active contribution to the good development of our socialist GDR.

The more years pass, the more it becomes clear that the founding of the GDR was a turning point in the history of the German people and Europe. The victory of the anti-Hitlerite coalition with its leading power, the Soviet Union, over fascist barbarism has also pushed open the gate to freedom, to a happy future, for our people.

Our workers and peasants state came about as a result of tough conflict with imperialist reaction, and it learned its lessons from history, realized the world changing ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin, and embodied the living legacy of the antifascist resistance fighters, all revolutionaries and progressive forces of the German people. Where once there was a stronghold of imperialism and reaction, a nest of two aggressive wars against other nations, there a bastion of peace, of democracy and of socialism was created in the form of the GDR.

With the rise of the workers' and peasants' power the people of the GDR decided irrevocably in favor of socialism in free self-determination, under the leadership of the SED in 1949. Those people who, irrespective of the realities which have come about in central Europe, even misuse the daily weather forecast for the revanchist thesis of "the continuation of the German Reich within the borders of 1937," should ponder on this.

The fight for peace, on which the existence or destruction of the human race ultimately depends, has flared up particularly fiercely in the international arena. The policy of confrontation of the most aggressive circles of imperialism threatens the peoples and exposes them to the danger of a nuclear war. Proof of this is the arming of NATO, its Brussels missile decision, the decision on the production of the neutron weapon, the striving to achieve military-strategic superiority over the Soviet Union, over the states of the Warsaw Pact. This policy, however, is an illusion and is doomed to failure. But it is fraught with serious danger.

The GDR views the stabilization of peace by arms limitation and disarmament according to the principle of equality and of equal security as the most urgent task. To this goal it directs its efforts which have been coordinated with the fraternal countries and it undertakes, as you know, corresponding constructive activities.

In this we proceed from the necessity of easing the international situation. The arms race must be brought to a halt, political detente must be defended and supplemented by military detente. Peace cannot be reliably safeguarded in any other way. We agree with all those who say that the arms race provides not more but less security.

Our people appreciate very highly the persistent peace initiatives of the USSR. Its proposals, which have been unanimously endorsed by the People's Chamber, are calculated in our view to bring about the normalization of international relations. The agreement between the USSR and the United States to start negotiations on questions of arms limitation in Geneva on 30 November 1981, is welcomed by us.

We regard this agreement as a first step in the right direction and hope that reason and goodwill will ultimately push aside all aspirations proceeding under the motto "first pile up arms and then disarm", and may plunge the world into the catastrophe of a nuclear inferno.

The happiness of the peoples is founded not in war but in peace. The GDR has made this a principle of its Constitution and acts accordingly at all times. Our domestic and foreign policy breathes the spirit of this great humanist idea. We regard socialism and peace as partners serving the happiness of the peoples. In this we base ourselves on the firm alliance with the USSR and the other fraternal socialist states which is indestructible for all times.

Before our country lies a period of intensive work for the further implementation of the decisions of the 10th SED Congress. We travel this path jointly with the friendly parties and mass organizations. It is our endeavor to achieve a steep increase in our economic efficiency, to raise the efficiency and quality of work everywhere. We regard this as the basis for safeguarding and developing gradually the material and cultural living standard which has been achieved, in accordance with the unity of economic and social policy. These efforts are of decisive importance for the successful implementation of our social policies.

The citizens of our republic look with optimism toward the future without concealing their anxiety about peace. They know that they are marching forward on time-tested paths opened up by the sons and daughters of Red October, at the side of reliable friends and fellow fighters. May our socialist fatherland continue to flourish and prosper.

BRIEFS

NEW DIESEL ENGINE -- The Magdeburg Karl Liebknecht heavy machine building combine, the GDR's biggest producer of diesel engines, today began trial runs of a new generation of engines which, in the view of experts, presumably will meet the technical requirements up to the next century. Outstanding features of the 1,600-hp engine are its favorable bulk/power ratio, low fuel consumption and the wide range of applicability, for instance in railroad engines and power generator stations. The engine can also be fueled with heavy oil for continuous operation. By now, 70 percent of the Soviet fishing fleet has been equipped with engines from Magdeburg. [East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 0904 GMT 6 Oct 81 DW]

SHIP LEAVES HELSINKI -- On 29 September the "Berlin -- Haupstadt der DDR" coast protection ship of the People's Navy left Helsinki. During its 4-day official visit, numerous meetings took place between the People's Navy delegation headed by Captain Rolf Roedel and members of the Finnish armed forces. [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 30 Sep 81 p 2 AU]

NEW AMBASSADOR TO MANILA -- On 28 September Ferdinand E. Marcos, president of the Republic of the Philippines, received Kurt Merkel, GDR ambassador to the Philippines, for the presentation of his credentials. In the talk the two sides praised the friendly cooperation between the two countries and agreed that in the current tense situation the continuation of the international dialogue is of particular importance in strengthening peace in the world. [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 29 Sep 81 p 2 AU]

COOPERATION WITH USSR ACADEMY -- On 30 September the presidents of the academies of pedagogic sciences of the GDR and the USSR, Gerhart Neuner and Mikhail Kondakov, signed a 5-year plan on scientific cooperation for 1981-85. This plan continues the successful cooperation of many years, which currently includes 27 projects. [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 1 Oct 81 p 2 AU]

LOSONCZI SENDS CONDOLENCES ON AS-SADAT DEATH

LD072124 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 7 Oct 81

[Text] In a telegram Pal Losonczi, president of the Presidential Council, expressed his condolences over the death of President as-Sadat.

SOLIDARITY CONGRESS PROGRAM PROVISIONS NOTED

LD071640 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1400 GMT 7 Oct 81

[Text] The Solidarity congress in Gdansk has approved a proposal for the establishment of people's courts if politicians, deemed to be guilty by Solidarity, are not brought to justice by the end of the year.

According to news agencies, the work of the congress is now characterized by a last-minute rush. The reason for this can be seen in the fact that the delegates can no longer be assured of places and catering in hotels. On-the-spot reports note that the organization's program is now being approved by the delegates in accelerated proceedings, in spite of the fact that a few days ago every clause was being debated for hours. The program -- as we reported earlier -- demands in practice the introduction of a multiparty system and also calls, among other things, for Poland to join the international economic organizations that unite the leading capitalist countries.

NEPSZAVA PUBLISHES GASPAR LETTER TO WALESA

AU080950 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 7 Oct 81 p 3

["Letter by the Hungarian Trade Unions to the Solidarity Congress"]

[Text] As has been reported by our information media -- on the basis of a report by the Polish news agency PAP -- a letter addressed by Sandor Gaspar, secretary general of the National Trade Union Council, on behalf of the Hungarian trade unions, to Lech Walesa, chairman of the National Coordinating Commission of Solidarity, has been read out at the Gdansk Solidarity congress. Below, we publish the full text of the letter.

Mr Lech Walesa, Gdansk.

Esteemed Mr Walesa:

As I have notified you in my letter of 4 September, I have received the invitation to the congress, but, because of the belated invitation and the shortness of time, our journey could not take place. I have also indicated that I would comment on our participation in the second phase of the congress.

Our public opinion and the Hungarian organized working people had awaited your congress with keen interest. I must tell you frankly that we have been disappointed in our expectations. The message addressed by your congress to "all workers of Eastern Europe," in which you call for "the establishment of free trade unions" and the emulation of the Polish example, has aroused aversion and indignation in the Hungarian organized working people.

We regard this message as an intervention in our country's domestic affairs and we reject it. This fact does not enable us to participate in the second phase of the congress.

It follows from our political principles and, therefore, we regard it as natural -- and this is confirmed also by the practice of the international workers movement -- that every country's workers class and trade union movement should pursue its activity in accordance wtih the historical traditions and characteristics of the country concerned. However, we regard it as just as natural and expect that no one should prescribe for us, either, how and under what pattern our trade unions should work.

Esteemed Mr Walesa:

We would like to remind you that, in the history of more than 100 years of the international trade union movement, it has always been of great significance to become mutually acquainted with one another's experiences. There is both logic and ethics to the workers movement and the trade union movement. What you are recommending and the manner in which you are doing it are in contradiction to those and are inconsistent with them.

As far as the Hungarian trade unions are concerned: We perform our work under socialist conditions, which involves a great effort and responsibility for the fate of our country and involves representing and safeguarding the working people's interests. As a trade union of a new type, we need each valuable experience, because we owe responsibility to the Hungarian workers class and the international workers movement alike. Therefore, the Hungarian trade unions have systematic and fruitful relations with all European and numerous other trade unions. We turn these experiences to good account for the sake of the true interests of the working people and to improve our work according to their meaningfulness. However, what you are recommending to us is unacceptable. We do not conceal the fact that we are surprised by the boldness [batorsag] and self-assurance with which -- after your one-year existence -- you offer advice to the working people of the socialist countries in your message.

There are experiences of several decades and genuine results behind the Hungarian trade unions. This is acknowledged primarily by our members, but also by friend and foe alike. Nevertheless, we would not dare to dispense advice to anyone and put up our own practice as an example. Still, perhaps it would be worth the trouble for the trade union movement that intends to serve the upswing of the Polish people, who have suffered so much in the course of history and deserve a better fate, to at least acquaint itself with the socialist countries' experiences.

The question presents itself to us: Why are we the addressed? Or, if you have, indeed, sent us a message, why have you not sent one to Reagan as well, who has, with drastic measures, crushed the strike of the air controllers? Or why have you not sent a message to Mrs Thatcher, who has self-assuredly declared that the trade unions congress can decide what it likes in the interests of the working people, but she will pay no attention to it. Or why have you not sent a message to the Third World, where not even elementary trade union rights are ensured and where trade union leaders are imprisoned and tortured and the trade union movement is persecuted?

On the basis of all this, I am obliged to say that at your congress -- whether you wanted it or not -- an antisocialist and anti-Soviet platform has manifested itself. We are no partners for such a program, because it is an historical fact that those who take their mission seriously in the workers movement cannot represent the workers class on an antisocialist platform, for that path does not lead anywhere.

Esteemed Mr Walesa:

It is our internationalist duty to do so, and, in the spirit of traditional Polish-Hungarian friendship, we are prepared to have talks about and discuss at any time the role and mission of trade unions.

I request your support for my letter to be read at the congress.

I enclose the 19 September 1981 issue of NEPSZAVA, which carried an editorial article in which we expounded in detail our position concerning your congress and message. [For text of NEPSZAVA article, see the item entitled "Solidarity Appeal Intervenes in Internal Affairs" in the Hungary section, pages F 1-3 of the 23 September Eastern Europe DAILY REPORT.]

Budapest, 23 September 1981.

With greetings:

[Signed] Sandor Gaspar, secretary general of the National Trade Union Council.

PRODUCTION FIGURES RELEASED FOR JAN-AUG

LD071954 Budapest MTI in English 1700 GMT 7 Oct 81

[Text] Budapest, 7 Oct (MTI) -- According to the January-August figures from Hungary's Central Statistical Office, industrial production in the socialist sector was 2.4 per cent in excess of last year's level. The outputs rose by 4.4 percent in the machine industry, by 2.3 per cent in the chemical, by 2.6 per cent in the light, and by 3.5 per cent in the food industries. The production figure for metallurgy was only close to last year's, chiefly due to the narrowed export venues. A slight decline in production was registered in the mining sector and the building material industry. About four fifths of the manufactured sales remained inside the country. The export sales figure fell behind last year's. The industrial workforce was 33,100 fewer (2.1 per cent) than in the corresponding period of 1980. The per employee figure of production ran 4.6 percent over last year's.

The construction industry saw a 2.9 per cent drop in outputs. Broken down, the decrease was 3.5 per cent for the building companies, accounting for the bulk of production, and 1.1 per cent for the cooperatives, while the joint ventures augmented their outputs by 2.8 per cent. The number of construction employees was 11,900 fewer, running 3.6 per cent below the 1980 level. The output per earner here was somewhat higher (0.7 per cent) on the whole. More particularly it was stagnated with state-run companies and increased with cooperative ones.

The procurement of plant products fell 1.1 per cent short of last year's figure, with the lower volume of cereals purchased accounting for the decline. The vegetable sales were 11 per cent, and the fruit sales 21 per cent higher than a year earlier. The sales figure for tomatos, green paprikas, carrots and apples shot up considerably, while that for peas and string beans fell. Slightly more slaughter pigs and fewer head of slaughter cattle reached the wholesales network than in January-August 1981. The procurement of slaughter sheep, poultry as well as wool and milk showed an increase, while that of eggs decreased.

The retail trade turnover rose by 8.7 per cent at current price, and by 3.9 per cent at comparative price. The sales of miscellaneous manufactured goods went up by 4.9 per cent, and that of clothing articles by 3.8 per cent -- computed at comparative prices. The food turnover expanded by 3.1, and the catering trade turnover by 1.8 per cent. In the period under survey Hungary was visited by 11.3 million foreign [word indistinct] including 13.9 per cent more tourists.

The investment spending in the socialist sector was 91,000 million forints, 2.8 per cent down from last year.

BRIEFS

YUGOSLAV OFFICIAL'S TALKS -- Arpad Pullai, minister of transportation and postal affairs, and Ante Zelic, member of the SFRY Executive Council and president of the Federal Committee for Transportation and Communications, concluded their official talks in Budapest on Wednesday. They discussed transportation and communications matters concerning the two neighboring countries and means to further develop cooperation. Ante Zelic was received by Deputy Premier Jozsef Marjai. [Text] [Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 24 Sep 81 p 3 AU]

SOLIDARITY CONGRESS PROCEEDINGS COMPLETED 7 OCT

Poznan Reports on Congress

LD071640 Poznan Domestic Service in Polish 0545 GMT 7 Oct 81

[Report from Gdansk correspondent Marek Tischke]

[Excerpts] Good day, ladies and gentlemen. Yesterday afternoon the Solidarity congress returned to the resolution on the recent price rise for cigarettes, fish and services.

Among the many proposals, [words indistinct] the congress will still work on two of them. One of them was put forward by Karol Modzelewski from Wroclaw, and the other by Grzegorz Palka from Lodz.

The proposal by Modzelewski has in fact become the last on which discussions will still perhaps be held and amendments adopted.

Yesterday the Resolutions and Motions Commission presented several other draft resolutions, two of which the congress passed -- namely on the matter of payment for warning strikes and on defending the union press from recent reprisals.

Also added to the program were the results of the work of three economic groups, including the so-called "alternative program," by Docent Stefan Kurowski.

It should be recalled that the delegates today received a present, namely a Polish version -- published by the (?Palotine) fathers -- of the last encyclical of John Paul II, which as we know is completely devoted to work. Yesterday was a busy day -- the 11th -- at the congress; today ended at 2300.

All the signs point to the fact that today ought to be the last day of the congress. And that is all, until the afternoon.

Modzelweski Proposal

PM071435 London THE DAILY TELEGRAPH in English 7 Oct 81 p 6

[Robin Gedye dispatch: "Polish Strike Threat"]

[Text] Gdansk -- Solidarity gave overwhelming support yesterday to a call for a general strike within the next two weeks unless Poland's government agrees to demands for coordinated price reforms.

Mr Karol Modzelewski, a Solidarity leader from Lower Silesia, said a 15-minute warning strike denoting a "social plebiscite of support" for Solidarity's demands would be sufficient to force the government to tell Solidarity about its economic programme.

The demand was seen as an attempt to defuse a major row over the doubling of cigarette prices while broadening the protest in an effort to directly involve Solidarity in Poland's economic policy.

Mr Modzelewski's proposal was one of six draft resolutions out to the vote during Solidarity's national congress in Gdansk. It gained 433 votes out of 892. The second most popular proposal gained 89.

The resolution has yet to be discussed in detail, along with the second proposal, but it contains demands for no further price increases until the government allows Solidarity to participate in a joint economic reform commission.

"I think the whole of society must take part in the struggle if the government does not agree to our demands. In this way we should call for limited strike action in the next couple of weeks," Mr Modzelewski said.

"The government's policies over the past month have been a reversal of their previous attitude. Their rejection of Solidarity's proposals for food, and self-management shows that they are developing activities against the basic interests of the working class.

"We must not hesitate to say that the socio-economic policies of the government are directed against society and the union.

"Unless the government tells us its overall purpose and economic strategy, we shall refuse to agree to further increases."

He appealed to regional unions to refrain from independent strike action over last Saturday's doubling of cigarette prices until nationwide activity is co-ordinated.

The government has said it is unable to postpone the increase, already in effect, but is prepared to meet union representatives to discuss the economic reasons behind it.

Price Rise Compensation

LD071906 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 7 Oct 81

[Excerpt] The Solidarity congress passed a resolution expressing the union's stand on the price rises. The resolution demands payment of compensation for the recent considerable rises in the prices of basic necessities and services. It also demands a freeze on retail prices until such time as a price change program and a compensation system are agreed.

Congress Approves Program

LD071532 Warsaw PAP in English 1409 GMT 7 Oct 81

[Text] Warsaw, 7 Oct (PAP) -- The Solidarity congress this morning approved by a majority vote a programme resolution, a document to be the basis of the union's activity for the current term.

Bogdan Lis of the Gdansk region fills the only vacant place in the National Consultative Commission as a result of the sixth round of elections held this morning. Debates will resume at 1600 today.

The first session of the newly elected National Consultative Commission which will form the national leadership is scheduled for tomorrow morning.

Congress Activities

LD071830 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 7 Oct 81

[Excerpts] The Solidarity congress in session in Gdansk today adopted the program resolution, a document which is the basis for the union's activity for the coming term of office.

This afternoon's session began with war veterans from Lublin handing souvenirs of General Wladyslaw Sikorski to Lech Walesa. Next the congress dealt with formal motions, most of which proposed returning to the resolutions that have already been discussed and approved. These motions were rejected. Then the congress adopted a resolution defining the union's attitude on price increases.

The first session of the newly-elected KKP [National Consultative Commission] has been announced for tomorrow morning. The commission will then constitute itself. [ukonstytuowanie sie]

Resolutions Reported

LD072236 Warsaw PAP in English 2038 GMT 7 Oct 81

[Text] Warsaw, 7 Oct (PAP) -- Successive resolutions, including the one on the Committees (?for the Defence) of Persons Imprisoned for Beliefs deeming them part of the union, were adopted during the afternoon session of the Solidarity congress.

In a (?resolution) on cooperatives, the congress demands amendment of the cooperative law.

New draft resolutions, including the one on cooperation with the Individual Farmers' Solidarity, were presented.

PAP Outlines Decisions

LD072318 Warsaw PAP in Russian 2100 GMT 7 Oct 81

[Text] Warsaw, 7 Oct (PAP) -- [Words indistinct] of the first congress of the delegates of the Solidarity trade union. Only on the sixth round of elections was the vacant place on the National Consultative Commission [KKP] filled by Bogdan Lis, who up until now has been carrying out the functions of deputy chairman of this commission. This National Commission -- the supreme organ of the trade union leadership -- comprises 69 elected members and, according to its statute, includes the chairmen of regional boards of Solidarty. The period of convocation for the commission has been set for 2 years. Ths main task of the KKP is to determine the main aims and directions of the trade union in the period between congresses, as well as to implement the decisions and program of Solidarity adopted by the supreme forum of the trade union.

At the congress in Gdansk, the election struggle for mandates was extremely stubborn. Many candidates, especially those representing large regions, did not receive the required number of votes. Among them are well-known trade union figures, primarily from Mozowsze (Warsaw region) and Gdasnsk. Included in the composition of the KKP from among the well-known figures of the Solidarity trade union are: Andrzej Gwiazda (Gdansk), Zbigniew Janas, Seweryn Jaworski, Janujsz Onyszkiewicz (Mazowsze), Karol Modzelewski (Wroclaw), Grzegorz Palka (Lodz), and Andrzej Rozpolchowski (Katowice). In spite of the frequent balloting, mandates were not received by, Ryszard Bugaj, Bronislaw Gieremek (Mazowsze), Zbigniew Iwanow (Torun), Ryszard Lakinowski (Elblag), and Kazimierz Switon (Katowice).

The congress adopted a decision on the theme of the price rises. The decision includes, in particular, the demand for compensation for the latest considerable increase in the prices of essential goods and services, and also the demand for setting aside -- under the trade union's supervision -- all the income received as a result of the increase in prices for tobacco goods for the poorest families. The demand is also put forward for freezing retail prices until such time as a program is agreed for changes in prices and a system of compensation. The decision also talks of the need to establish public control over the program for emergency actions against the crisis.

The main aspect of the work of the congress this morning was the delegates' adopting of routine chapters of the program decisions of the congress.

The first chapter -- the preamble of the program decision -- notes that the trade union grew out of the uprising of the Polish people, the uprising against discrimination on the grounds of world outlook and economic exploitation. It was a protest against the [word indistinct] of power.

This public and moral protest was not born overnight. The preamble recalls the genealogy of Solidarity -- the events of 1956 and December 1979 on the coast, and also 1968 and 1976. This protest contains the expression of the independent actions of the workers, intelligentsia and young people [words indistinct] to maintain values, the legacy of struggle for human dignity in the country. The trade union Solidarity, the decision goes on to say [words indistinct] people of differing world views, varying ; litical convictions. They have been united by the protest against injustice, misuse of power and monopolization of the right to define and express the strivings to the whole people.

Poznan Reports Last Debates

LD071658 Poznan Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 7 Oct 81

[Marek (Kiszke) report from Gdansk on the Solidarity congress proceedings]

[Text] Here is my last direct report from the NSZZ Solidarity congress, which has been in session in Gdansk for the last 12 days. The congress is coming to an end and will finish sometime later tonight. Elections to the KKP [National Consultative Commission] have now been completed. The last person elected to this body was Bogdan Lis from Gdansk. A debate is still in progress on the final shape of the program resolution. So far seven chapters have been approved. As I speak, a debate is in progress on Chapter 8, concerning social agreements. So far two significant amendments have been introduced. The first says that a social tribunal will be created to investigate who was to blame for the use of firearms and to ascertain the victims of the events of June 1956 in Poznan, December 1970 at the coast and June 1976 in Radom and Ursus. This tribunal will be constituted unless an official investigation is started by the end of the year.

The second amendment (?says) that the union will propose a social draft of the new electoral regulations to the People's Council, to be presented to the Sejm by 1 December this year.

Everyone knows that the congress must end tonight, otherwise the delegates might freeze to death because tomorrow work begins on a skating rink at the Oliwia sports hall. It is being prepared for second league ice hockey games. This danger mobilizes the delegates and forces them to greater self-discipline. I hope therefore -- and I am not alone in this hope -- that the first NSZZ Solidarity congress will close today. But not all of the delgates will go back home. Members of the National Commission remain in Gdansk and they will meet tomorrow for the first time to [words indistinct]. The commission will elect deputy chairmen and the Presidium.

Congress Ends in Gdansk

LD072328 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2300 GMT 7 Oct 81

[Text] The national congress of delegates of NSZZ Solidarity in Gdansk ended the second round of plenary debates, which lasted 12 days, at 2215 tonight. The last events at the congress were the recognition of the banner of the Interfactory Strike Committee from Gdansk, dating from the August strikes, as the banner of the entire Solidarity, and statements by the chairmen of congress commissions about the discharge of the tasks entrusted to them.

The closing speech was delivered by Chairman of NSZZ Solidarity National Consultative Commission [KKP] Lech Walesa. He referred to the August strikes a year ago and stated that just like them, the union in congress does not lack tenacity.

Now, said Lech Walesa, we will go back to the factories. Let us remember our union. The program which we have approved is realistic but we must implement it together.

Let us recall that earlier, the first national congress of delegates of NSZZ Solidarity approved with a large majority the program resolution. This document constitutes the basis for the union's activities for the next term. The first meeting of the newly-elected KKP has been announced for this morning [8 October] in order to elect its officers.

WALESA SAYS IT IS NOW TIME TO NEGOTIATE

LD081052 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0613 GMT 8 Oct 81

[Interview with Lech Walesa, chairman of the NSZZ Solidarity National Consultative Commission, by Andrzej Jelenski, date and place not specified -- recorded]

[Text] [Question] First, congratulations on your election to the post of chairman of the Solidarity union, and straightaway I have a fundamental question to put to you: How is the union program and how should it be?

[Answer] It is a program for which the public is waiting. People must also be aware that it will not achieve an improvement in the situation for the world of labor and that it will be only a signal of what we want to deal with. We will slowly embark on this program in order to ease the lot of our members. People must also be aware that up to a month after the congress it will be a mistake to believe that we have emerged weakened after the congress, because of organizational consideration -- placing people and transferring some of them. We should also already have done work whose effects ought to be visible.

[Question] In your opinion what are the most important matters the Solidarity union has to deal with?

[Answer] The most important is organizational: to appoint the Presidium and the National Commission, and also to share out subjects, the most important of which must be dealt with as quickly as possible.

[Question] Now that the congress has finished, can it already be said that the first national congress of NSZZ Solidarity delegates has fulfilled social expectations?

[Answer] It depends on who is making the assessment, and what standards he is employing. This is why, in my opinion, the congress has fulfilled these expectations. We must be aware that after 36 years it was possible for the first time to say everything, to say even too much. This was a kind of public discussion, an exchange of views. We have learned a lot; we have evened out the levels. We can't yet see the fruit, but there will be fruit.

[Question] In your opinion has the period from August 1980 been a success for the Solidarity union?

[Answer] It has been a success if we take into account that there has been such a lack of confidence. We have stuck together despite differing views, and indeed no one has fallen by the wayside and many have even joined this union. This is a success. We also put many topics in motion, and we have great success on paper. Now for this to be visible we must implement them as quickly as possible.

[Question] How will Poland look in 1-2 years' time? Will the future be easier for us Poles?

[Answer] If we do not have many obstacles, if we begin to understand ourselves -- not only (?our) union but also the other unions and the government -- if we understand ourselves and discard some of this lack of confidence, then I believe that in 1 year's time we will be more satisfied.

[Question] What can be done, and what should be done in order to eliminate the lines outside stores and to fill the stores with goods?

[Answer] This is the most difficult point. This demands really solid talk and solid discussion at the highest level in order to help in other ways, because we know that there are specific capabilities and things can be arranged organizationally so that people do not stand in lines.

[Question] How can the problems of production and food supplies be resolved?

[Answer] Without the commissioning of self-management, and without trust in the people who are responsible for all this, and without trust in the union it is impossible to emerge from this situation. But I believe that it is time for us to sit around a table and to start work for the good of all the people.

[Question] There was once a well-known slogan: By working for the country we work for ourselves.

[Answer] I would like to turn this around: By working for ourselves we are working for the country.

[Question] It is said that the Poles know how to, and want to, work well.

[Answer] Yes, but at the same time they must see the light. They must know that things are not good today but that they will be better tomorrow. If people see this light, this ray of hope, then I am sure that we will extricate ourselves very quickly.

[Question] What is Solidarity like now, and what should it be like in the future?

[Answer] Of course, it is not yet a trade union. I would like it to be a trade union. The organizational needs and the subjects raised at the congress and the demands of the community for various things are also so great that the union is unable to cope with all the tasks. We have already set in motion the self-management movement, the movement which will deal with some of the tasks with which the union is dealing and which will also make it easier for us. Also another group, some kind of an organization, must be created to assist us. I believe that it would be some kind of a legal and opinion-expressing group, as there are needs for different solutions which make things easier for our movement and which go toward making our movement into a trade union.

[Question] What is the Solidarity union and what should it be?

[Answer] Today this is a social movement; we are really aiming at making it into a trade union which after some time will have only the functions of giving opinions, controlling and presenting demands. But today this cannot yet be done, today we are Poles primarily and we must save the economy and the country.

PAPERS VIEW SOLIDARITY CONGRESS PROGRAM

Program Content Reported

AU071256 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 1 Oct 81 pp 1,2

[Teresa Grabczynska, Zbigniew Wrobel report on the 30 September session of the Solidarity congress in Gdansk]

[Excerpts] On the fifth day of the Solidarity congress in the Oliwia Hall in Gdansk the congress delegates began discussing the congress program.

Bronislaw Geremek, chairman of the Program Commission, reported on the commision's work. He said inter alia that the discussion of the program had been going on for months and conceded that far-reaching differences in views had surfaced and that the coordinators of the individual teams would tell the congress about controversies.

The Solidarity congress draft program occupies almost 40 pages and is divided into seven chapters. It was drawn up by the Program Commission led by Prof Bronislaw Geremek and is based on the findings of 13 theme groups.

Chapter I -- "Who We Are and Where We Are Going" -- traces the protest origin of Solidarity and states: "We are a force capable not only of protesting, but also of being the force that wants to build a Poland equally just to everyone and the force that believes in common human values." The draft supplies the concept of the socialist state, which must serve man and not dominate, and of the state organization, which is to serve society and must not be identified with a single political party.

The draft states: "Our program is one of struggle for the aims we have posed for ourselves, a program reflecting our society's wishes and aspirations, a program arising from these aspirations, a program seeking long-term aims by solving short-term issues, and a program for our work, struggle and service."

Chapter II -- "On the Country's Present Situation" -- states: "The present government of the country based on the omnipotence of the party-state central institutions is leading the country to ruin. Dragging one's feet on changes -- which has continued for over a year, although it has no longer been possible to govern in the old way -- has accelerated the process of ruin and is taking up rapidly to a catastrophe.... In the face of national tragedy, Solidarity can no longer restrict itself to waiting and exerting pressure on the apparatus of power so that it honors its obligations stemming from agreements."

Furthermore, chapter two states that the balance of power in Europe and the alliances with the USSR should not be undermined in view of the conscious national obligations in this connection. The chapter ends with the statement that the Solidarity program must be one of prompt activity, economic reform and of a road toward a self-governing republic.

The exentsive third chapter -- "Solidarity and Economic Problems" -- begins by criticizing the government anticrisis program and by saying that the program is inconsistent with the lines of the reform of the system of economic performance. This is the basis of the first thesis of the program: "We demand that self-governing and democratic reforms be introduced at every level of management and we demand a new socioeconomic order that will unite the plan, self-management and the market."

The second thesis concerns Solidarity's energetic activities in connection with the winter, and the third states that it is necessary to safeguard the working people's living standards and to counter production slumps. Other theses deal in detail with the market, supplies, wages, work, social control of the struggle against the crisis, and reform.

Chapter IV -- "Solidarity Society-Social Policy" -- contains theses 9 to 17, which deal inter alia with the autonomous nature of social services, with measures against irregularities, inequalities and unearned privileges, with safeguarding the rights of the family and old and handicapped people, with work safety and hygiene, and with the protection of man's health and environment. The draft program recognizes the right to an apartment as one of the basic human rights and states that Solidarity will help create conditions for culture and ensure the necessary amount of time off from work.

Chapter V -- "Self-Governing Republic" -- states inter alia: "Self-Government, socialization and pluralism -- the indispensable ability of society to choose from various programs -- determine the direction of changes." On the strength of this pluralism the draft states that there is a variety of trade unions and sees the possibility for "loyal coexistence with other trade unions."

The draft regards workers' self-management as the basic component part of the "self-governing republic," but in another thesis it poses tasks for territorial autonomous groups, which are independent in law, organization and property. The draft suggests how to achieve that: "...The political guarantee of territorial autonomy should be democratic elections to the People's Councils -- Elections based on the electoral rules that guarantee the right of organizations and citizens' groups to draw up programs and to freely submit candidates."

The 21st thesis deals with the need to set up a second chamber of a socioeconomic character within the Sejm. The draft also deals with the modifications of the legal system and with equality before the law, stating this in Article 2 of the 22d thesis: "This calls for subordinating all elements of public life, including political and social organizations, to law. That is why it is necessary to constitutionally settle the legal status of those organizations and to define their legal relation to the Sejm and other bodies of the administrative power of state administration."

The other theses deal with the demands and directives concerning the judicial system and the prosecuting apparatus and the defense of those persecuted for their convictions. There is also a demand that an abolition act be passed. In another place the draft calls for making fully responsible those guilty of crimes against society, no matter what their pasts.

Theses 26-29 deal with culture, upbringing, education, information and the mass media. These issues are to be settled by the Solidarity Cultural Council and the Solidarity National education Council. The draft also speaks of Solidarity's own cultural, scientific and educational institutions, publishing firms and university.

The draft program states that censorship is an evil which Solidarity accepts only temporarily. It also states that Solidarity will support the development of independent publishing firms because the activity of such firms is one of the ways to spread the truth and to break down the restrictions imposed by censorship.

As for the mass media, the draft program states that Solidarity will set up its own information, photographic and movie agencies as well as its own press, phonographic and audiovisual publishing centers, and that it "demands the setting up of its own radio and TV stations and the opportunities for beaming its own programs."

Chapter VI -- "Our Union" -- states that democracy is Solidarity's basic value, that decisions should be based on an extensive knowledge of the members' views and will and that agreements and accords are the basic method of implementing worker and citizen interests. But should these fail, protest actions should be resorted to.

The brief seventh chapter -- "New Social Accords" -- puts forward the demand that a new social accord should be signed -- an accord of three integral parts: an anticrisis accord, an accord of economic reform, and an accord for the self-governing republic.

'Alternative Program'

AU071149 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 1 Oct 81 p 2

[Jerzy Bielecki commentary: "Our Representative Comments"]

[Text] A debate has begun on the Solidarity program. We are publishing a summary of the draft program separately. I emphasize "draft," because that document is now being widely discussed and, as the chairman of the Program Drafting Commission stated, there were serious differences of opinion in the teams working on the subject.

Certinly, it will be necessary to go back to the program. Having carefully read the draft and having heard the first remarks in the discussion, I will supply a few initial sidenotes.

Point One. That extensive and detailed document only once uses the adjective "socialist" in application to the state. The draft does not say anything at all about socialism, even while referring to the traditions of Solidarity. The draft refers to values drawn from Christian ethics, from national traditions, from workers and democratic traditions of the working world, but does not say anything about socialist legacies of the past.

Point Two. The draft emphatically asserts that Solidarity is the only force motivating changes. The Sixth Plenum and the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress are nonexistent for the authors (by the way, the term "PZPR" has not been used in the draft even once). There are authorities in relation to which the draft formulates alternative programs as if those authorities had no program of their own. On the other hand, the draft asserts that the practice of blocking changes is "carrying us rapidly to a catastrophe." Indeed, it is a peculiar logic of reasoning: In view of irrefutable facts showing that Solidarity has been blocking development programs and decisions adopted by the authorities, the draft alleges the opposite.

However -- and this makes Point Three -- There is a method to that. The draft presents an anticrisis program and theses for an economic reform, which differ from the decisions of the Ninth PZPR Congress and from the documents passed by the Sejm. As far as the anti-crisis program is concerned, the theses of the draft coincide with the views of Stefan Kurowski with whom TRYBUNA LUDA polemicized twice, proving that the premises on which his "alternative" was based were false. If that is true for the part concerning the anticrisis program, one can have serious doubts if the other theses of the draft are not based on premises which lack precision and which have not been well considered, although they are attractive sloganwise.

Point Four. What struck me in the program was the fact that it formulated demands and goals without taking into account realities and possibilities, doing so primarily and in principle in the form of demands addressed to the authorities. This can produce the impression that, on the one hand, there is solidarity with so and so many million members, and on the other hand, than there are vaguely defined authorities that must do a great deal. In line with the draft program, to check the sinking production, the authorities must, for example, increase outlays to import more raw and other materials and more spare parts... Where will the authorities get this money? Well, that is their business. There is not a word in the draft mentioning exports and the need to increase them.

Point Five. The careful reading of the chapter entitled "The Self-Governing Republic" may produce the impression that that republic is not identical with the Polish People's Republic. Particular proposals set forth in the chapter, in my opinion, do not fall within our fundamental law. I read with concern the part of the draft dealing with candidates to People's Councils nominated by "organizations and groups of citizens" not belonging to the National Unity Front or -- the draft assumes it in advance -- to any other similar organization. The National Unity Front or "any other similar organization" provides a platform to unite all political and social groups which are not against socialism. What about those others?

Point Six. Last but not least, the draft project in its conclusion does not offer the authorities any conciliation, but dictates that they sign a committment to implement the anticrisis program drawn up by Solidarity, to accept the economic reform in the shape determined by Solidairty and to accept Solidairty's concept of a "self-governing Republic."

Listening to the congress proceedings for 11 days, I repeatedly heard the so-called moderates speaking about the need for "short steps." Is that what they meant?

Impossible, Unnecessary Tasks

LD071854 Warsaw PAP in English 0844 GMT 7 Oct 81

[From the press review]

[Text] Warsaw, 7 Oct (PAP) -- TRYBUNA LUDU's correspondent in Gdansk Jerzy Bielecki wrote that "it is not my business to advise the delegates what they should do in this situation, but I have a right to voice my deep conviction why that is happening. I believe that the union is trying to settle everything at this congress, starting from the country's foreign policy to its legislative and executive bodies to the mechanisms of management, education, welfare, to membership fees, benefits and the distribution of funds. This is both impossible and unnecessary."

"It is impossible for purely pragmatic reasons. Structures of the state evolve over decades. The second version of the programme does not feature a single word "socialist" (it was used once in the first version). As similarly there is no mention of the word "capitalist," one is led to believe that the active group supporting this draft was in a great rush to work out a new variant of the system. Judging by what one can read, they have attained little beyond slogans."

"Secondly, it is unnecessary for the system of our state is defined and inviolable. If one forgets about it or tries to tell the delegates and masses of members that this is not the case, harm is done to Solidarity, thus first of all to employee interests which the organization is to defend."

"I am not suprised at the growing number of voices which, though they do not play a decisive role, appeal to the congress to deal with worker matters, remind it about agreement and criticise severely the line of struggle that many people here propagate."

'Political Program'

LD072154 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 7 Oct 81

[Text] Jerzy Bielecki, TRYBUNA LUDU correspondent at the Solidarity congress in Gdansk comments on the program resolution which was approved today:

It seems to me that in this 40 page document there are a number of issues which indeed concern working people. They concern essential issues not only for 10 million members of the union but also for the considerably greater number of Poles. It seems to me that this is correct, appropriate, and it should be so. On the other hand I think that the program also contains a number of formulations which go far outside the topics which should be discussed in the program of a trade union. In my opinion this is not only a union's program but also to some degree a political program, and here I bear a grudge against delegates for unnecessary talk about political issues, about issues concerning the political system, about all that is no business of the trade union Solidarity.

However, I think that the wisdom of the working people is going to win. I have always been convinced that Solidarity is the force which not only made our August, the renewal of our life, but it is the force which in the near future will be able to overcome the problems and difficulties within the framework of the existing, and renewed, Polish socialist state.

MEDIA VIEWS SOLIDARITY KKP CHAIRMAN ELECTION

Candidates' Speeches

AU071538 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 2 Oct 81 p 2

[J. Bielecki report on the 1 October Solidarity congress proceedings: "Struggle or Partnership?"]

[Text] At 2140, the presentation of candidates for the chairmanship of the National Consultative Commission [KKP] began. To start with, each candidate, drawing from lots, delivered a 10-minute speech, then answered questions for 30 minutes each. Finally, all four candidates exchanged questions and answers for several minutes.

Marian Jurczyk was the first to take the floor. He said that a union figure must not be apart from the people because the greatest wisdom and strength were in society. However, he emphasized the role of the chief. The KKP [National Consultative Commission] and its chairman must not adopt their decisions in narrow circles. The line pursued must be firm, resolute and unyielding. There must be no compromises. The Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress only changed persons, but the line has remained unchanged for 35 years. Jurczyk favored self-management at enterprises, territorial self-governments and free Sejm elections. Poland is not a poor, but a poorly governed country, and its economic management is wasteful. He demanded punishment for those guilty of the 1956 and 1980 events. He said that, as a Pole, he was ashamed of the present government, and called for free elections so that the authorities represent no one but the public.

The next speaker, Andrzej Gwiazda, stated that the economic state was not accountable for the present crisis. The authorities have intensified their attacks against the union. A year ago, the authorities would not have dared to indict so many of our figures. What the authorities want is to involve us in thousands of little conflicts. It was our mistake not to accept the first challenge of this kind. To insist that anything can be achieved by concessions is to stick one's head into the sand. We have 35 years of experience. Conflicts are unavoidable, and constant concessions only bring us closer to the crucial conflict. I think that a compromise can be achieved with the present authorities. But it must be achieved at a different level. Last year, nothing was done. Are the empty shelves in our stores a result of necessity, of neglect, or of sabotage? That we do not know, because we do not control the economy, and statistical date are phony. For 1 year, we have been talking to the government like two Daltonists. It has been a war designed to wear out the other side and achieve concessions. To build a union for ideal people would mean to repeat the mistake committed by communists.

As the third speaker, Lech Walesa said that the struggle had just begun and that he was disturbed by the fact that we underestimated the partner and were too confident of ourselves. All of us could have seen that, before August, the opposition was very strong, and I ask you: Did the government politicians not think of how to cope with it? Just think it over. If we are engaged in a game, we must be responsible and must know what the partner is up to. If I am elected chairman and accept the program -- because I would not sign any program -- we must act immediately. The winter is coming, and "our supply taps may prove to be tightened." We may run short of meat, bread and so forth. Each enterprise commission must be assigned a village to be responsible for. Our chances of winning anything by imprudent behavior are insignificant. We underestimate the partner. I am against the building of an even worse totalitarian system, against overturning the Sejm, governments, and I am against watching various rascals kick us out. Three sectors must coexist: self-management, our union and the party and state administration. Whoever overlooks one of those sectors builds another system. Our duty is to safeguard democracy, not to build a bad system. Ambitions alone cannot give us success. History will call us to account. Politics are not to be spoken about, but to be acted upon.

Jan Rulewski, the last to take the floor, introduced himself as the one who had been fighting the system for 17 years. The Soviet threat, real or imagined, is the union's error. On this occasion the speaker allowed himself to launch base attacks against the USSR.

He suggested the possible renunciation of the alliances and in this context spoke about sovereignty. In the government's policy, there was G. Lato's soccer playing, on the one hand, and the Mazowsze and the Slask fiddle-de-dee, on the other. No one has the authority to deprive us of the right to voice our views on foreign politics. Control must be exercised over state budgetary outlays for military purposes and for the minimum social needs of the 7-8 million hungry Poles. We are living under emergency conditions [ookres zagrozenia]. We must act resolutely. The enterprise must belong to us; the workers must obtain shares. A proper system of incentives is now nonexistent.

The question of which of those "programs" wins the majority of votes will be settled in the Friday election. At the time this edition was going to press the candidates had for many hours been busy answering questions.

Bielecki Commentary

AU071533 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 2 Oct 81 p 2

[Jerzy Bielecki commentary: "Your Reporter Comments"]

[Text] Engineer Gwiazda; storeman Jurczyk; Jan Rulewski, employee of Solidarity's regional board (as stated in the questionnaire); and electrician Lech Walesa are candidates for Solidarity's chairmanship. They presented their electoral messages late in the evening on Thursday [1 October], but what they have said so far and what the people in the wings think shows that various radicals will oppose Walesa. Jurczyk and Rulewski differ little in their views and both agree that the apparatus of power is an adversary and that the sooner it is overcome the better. Gwiazda's election game is more moderate, but he no doubt professes the theory of unceasing struggle. As for Walesa, much too much has been said about him....

However, before the union's new chief takes over power, a long and greatly dilatory discussion on the congress draft program will have taken place. During this discussion voices are heard which show a genuine concern for workers' affairs, social and living conditions, and the young generation's education and upbringing. There are quite a few such voices, some of which are critical of the formulation of the draft program, but this criticism concerns details as a rule.

On the other hand, the systemic solutions worked out primarily by experts -- as some delegates said -- were dealt with very scantily. It is regrettable that so far no questions have been asked on how the producers of the draft program imagine changes in public institutions, how they see the specific implementation of the system of Solidarity institutions along or rather above the heads of government bodies, and how they view the fact that the authorities have to obtain the agreement of Solidarity institutions for every decision. This is not even a shadow cabinet; this is a draft for dual power.

Although not so frequently, demagogic noises continue to be raised in the congress hall and are spearheaded against our country's constitutional authorities and the PZPR. Comrade Lis said magnanimously from the rostrum that not only was he against the Warsaw Pact defense system, but that he thought that Poland and the West should disarm. He said all this to darkly suggest that coal is used to produce steel for tanks instead of serving other uses -- naivete, bad will and perhaps a lack of realism, of which Mr Lis accuses the authorities so often.

In conclusion a few words about the electoral rules applying to the National Commission. This highest body of Solidarity will be staffed by 69 delegates elected by the congress in the so-called fragmentary elections -- in addition to the 38 regional chairmen. This means that there will be separate voting for the lists of the individual regions, of which there will be 38 and which will include far more candidates than mandates. For example, the Silesia-Dabrowa region, which is the largest, has 10 mandates and 20 candidates elected by the so-called primaries or information elections. This is a very complicated procedure, and it was decided in advance that there may be three or even more rounds of voting. Yet today is Friday -- the 13th day of the congress and the 7th day of its second round.

Walesa Interview

PM071623 Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 3 Oct 81 p 36

[Stein Savik interview with Polish Solidarity trade union leader Lech Walesa: "Commonsense Triumphs"]

[Text] Gdansk, 2 Oct -- "Commonsense will be triumphant. New negotiations with the government will be started soon. Solidarity is not anti-Soviet, and Poland's independent trade unions threaten no one. The ordinary members are impatient, but confrontations with the authorities can be avoided if it is explained to them that everything cannot be achieved immediately and through force." These are the main points in an interview which Lech Walesa granted to AFTENPOSTEN's correspondent on Friday [2 October], after a long night's debate at the congress in Gdansk. The 38-year-old Solidarity leader is proud that he has been nominated for this year's Nobel Peace Prize, but he thinks that he would have had a better chance if he had "started earlier and completed his mission."

It is 0700 and Walesa has only slept a few hours. At a night meeting in the Oliwia Hall he had delivered his "candidate speech" before the chairmanship elections and answered a crossfire of questions together with his rivals for the post. But he seemed in form and eager, and in addition the congress meetings are opened every morning with a Catholic mass, which he never misses. But the election for chairman has not yet been held.

I asked him if he could imagine coming to Norway in the near future and he answered with his well-known cunning smile:

"If I lose the election I could come soon. But then you would probably not want me."

[Question] In his greetings address to the congress Norwegian Trade Union Federation Chairman Tor Halvorsen attached great importance to the cooperation which has been agreed with Solidarity. What can Norway do to give your trade union meaningful help?

[Answer] In order to be able to answer this, you must know our needs. Therefore, a delegation from the Norwegian trade unions should come to Poland, look around and on the basis of their impressions tell us what we should do to get Solidarity organized better and more quickly. This could be done according to the pattern which the Norwegian trade unions use in their activities. It is a good pattern.

[Question] You have been nominated as a candidate for the Nobel Peace Prize, which is awarded by the Norwegian Nobel Committee. Of course, the decision about the prize has still not been made, but what were your feelings when you heard the report that you had been nominated for this great distinction?

[Answer] There could only be one feeling -- the Nobel Prize is the highest mark of honor a person can hope for. At the same time I think that I would have had a better chance if I had begun my activities earlier. I would like to have completed a task, talked about it and explained it.

I do not think that the methods our working class used in its struggle in the past were good. The strategy was not good, and now we must make up what was lost. Today we must find a strategy based on fighting without losing. We must find other methods, which do not lead to destruction, in other words peaceful methods. I am for peaceful methods.

Situations could possibly occur in which there would not be room for peaceful solutions. But I am for solutions without the use of force.

[Question] All realistic people hope that Solidarity can complete its struggle without the use of force. But at the present time the relationship betewen your organization and the government is more tense than ever. How can a confrontation be avoided, when the authorities say that they will adopt extraordinary measures, perhaps even call in the Armed Forces?

[Answer] You must understand our situation correctly. Many of our union officials are tired. They have been working in our factory committees and all kinds of commissions. They are busy building up our organizations. They are all tired. At the same time they are helpless, because it is not possible to solve all of the problems which have developed over such a long time.

But the ordinary members, the workers in the factories, are demanding concrete results which are impossible for us to achieve at this early stage. Therefore the union officials, who are helpless, are trying to find other ways of fighting. There is a fair amount of strong language, and they are looking for a new opponent to show that they are really fighting.

For this reason we must have many discussions with the ordinary members and the union officials to explain to them that the struggle must go on while taking account of the situation in the country. Those who are responsible for the trade union's policies must search for solutions which are satisfactory. But they must also make it clear that everything cannot be achieved at once and through the use of force.

[Question] But Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski, who used to negotiate with your union, has said that "the line of understanding" was buried under the first part of Solidarity's congress. Do you share this view, or do you believe that the possibility of understanding, of new negotiations, will be better when the congress ends?

[Answer] Mr Rakowski is also overtired. He said far too much, but such things can happen. I know that he has realized this, and that he has now become more restrained. When all is said and done he is a human being. We will soon be sitting down together again.

[Question] What can Solidarity do to dismiss the accusations of anti-Sovietism, which have become particularly strong since the congress approved the letter to the workers in Eastern Europe?

[Answer] It needs to be said that this business of anti-Sovietism does not apply to people in general. I have already mentioned the union officials who are looking for an opponent, because they are not in a position to achieve anything. If you only listen to fragments of what is being said among us, it is possible to gain the impression that there is a real fighting atmosphere, that we are on the verge of attack, that we, as it were, believe that we can bicycle to the moon. But in general we are realists, and commonsense will triumph. We threaten no one. If Poland becomes a better and richer country, it would also become a better partner in the group of nations in which we find ourselves, a better partner than the poor Poland which has always had trouble and problems.

[Question] Are you hurt that several delegates at the congress have criticized you because you act all too independently, and have said that you are undemocratic?

[Answer] No. But they must look at the many sides to this question. First we have the purely human side. We can take what happens here in the congress hall. Journalists and cameramen are after me the whole time. And then it is quite normal for other peole who have also fought for Solidarity to ask themselves: Why him and not me? They have also worked hard and had many sleepless nights. But at the same time you must remember that I have succeeded in achieving many major things. The result is that I have grown faster than they in people's eyes.

Yes, and then there is another thing. I agree that in normal situations we should coordinate our activities. But in the period we have behind us we were not able to act democratically. We could not wait and ask someone for instructions. It has been the same in all movements at the beginning, in Norway too. Someone has to start the whole thing in an undemocratic way. Now, after the congress, when we have a program and an elected leadership, it will be really necessary to act more collectively on a number of matters. Perhaps even on all.

TRYBUNA LUDU on Election

AU071818 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 3-4 Oct 81 p 2

[Jerzy Bielecki commentary: "Your Reporter Comments"]

[Text] Friday -- the seventh day of the Solidarity congress -- was marked by the election of the Solidarity chairman and by delegates' preparations to vote for members of the National Consultative Commission. All this no doubt cut down the delegates' presence at the morning congress session by about 50 percent. But all delegates were there to vote and most of them voted for Walesa.

If I write about this, then it is because of the events in the Oliwia Hall last Thursday between 2100 and 0100 hours. The election campaign took place in the full presence of journalists and guests and was relayed outside by giant loudspeakers.

As for that campaign and the congress discussion in general, I would like to draw attention to a fact, which no observer failed tonote, I daresay. This fact is that the hall responds very stormily to all spectacular slogans, especially to those that are served in a form that is suitably unfavorable to socialism, to the party and to our allies.

The delegates in the Oliwia Hall do not want or are unable to take a sober look at the reality of the present time, at the changes in the party and the country's political life and at the constructive program for reforms. They feed on the errors committed by the voluntaristic policy of the seventies. Demagogues batten consciously on them because they know perfectly well that people were discontented for good reasons. In their view, the task is to maintain the temperature of that discontent, no matter what takes place. Only in such a temperature of unceasing fermentation can they expect success for their aims: to weaken the party and to dismantle the apparatus of power.

Those manipulations are rather simple, but they continue to be popular in the Oliwia Hall, unfortunately. I even noticed that there is a special way to attract the listeners' attention. If anyone addresses the point, but his point concerns the daily issues -- trade union and human issues -- the interest in the hall is not great. But if anyone speaking about the issues "colors" his speech by asserting that the party is to blame for everything, that the government is incapable or that the allies are to blame for something, the mood changes at once and the interest waxes.

It is obvious that the weapon of demagogy is used at this congress not only by political foxes, but also by those who want in this way to win benevolence for Solidarity theses.

It is hard to switch over from negation to constructive activity, but I persevere in believing that a program will be evolved to measure up to a trade union organization of many millions and to the aspirations of socialist Poland's citizens.

Further on 2 Oct Session

AU071830 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 3-4 Oct 81 pp 1, 2

[Teresa Grabczynska, Zbigniew Wrobel report on the 2 October session of the Solidarity congress in Gdansk]

[Excerpts] On Friday -- the seventh day of the Solidarity congress -- the Returns Commission announced at 1815 that Lech Walesa was elected chairman of the National Consultative Commission (KKP) in secret balloting by 462 delegates, who represented 55.2 percent of all delegates.

In gratitude for his election, L. Walesa said inter alia: The higher I go, the harder the going is. I received 100 percent of the votes in the Gdansk shipyards, but fewer votes in the Gdansk region and now still fewer votes.... I think that we will win this struggle in a peaceful way. We will settle the issues that are just issues....I ask those who did not vote for me and who will not help me not to make my work too difficult.

The first speakers in the morning discussion concentrated on strictly trade union issues. Other speakers revealed their genuine concern for the very bad state of our economy and drew attention to the fact that in its program Solidarity says relatively little about the quality and morality of work.

Leon Okinczyc from Western Pomerania proposed that agriculture should be made completely private and that the state should be in charge of only the farms that are scientific and breeding bases.

Jacek Jerz from Radom went even further along that line by advocating a concept for overcoming the crisis devised by the economic team of the...Confederation for an Independent Poland led by Leszek Moczulski. To the echo of some delegates' applause, Jerz proposed that his draft program should be included among the congress documents. His program provides for far-reaching economic-political reforms in line with the concepts of the confederation and "guarantees" that our crisis will be overcome within 15 months. The program opens the road for implementing Stefan Kurowski's concepts. As Jerz magnanimously said, his program can be realized within 15 months "even while the PZPR is still in power in Poland."

The afternoon session opened with the presentation of the formal motions protesting the refusals to allow delegates to speak and the premature closure of the discussion on economic reform. The congress voted to postpone that discussion and began discussing chapter three of the congress program entitled "Solidarity and Public Life."

The coordinator of the theme teams, which deal with those issues, presented a number of questions of importance for Solidarity: changes in the legal system, guarantees for the independence of the judicial system and a response to repression.

During the ensuing discussion, much attention was paid to the mass media, which should have guaranteed freedom of speech, should serve society and should be controlled by society. It is necessary, those taking the floor said, to break up the state monopoly on information and to win the right to establish Solidarity press agencies and radio-TV stations.

Piotr Ejsmont from Gdansk said that although the congress program is on the whole devoted to accord, it can be falsely interpreted because of some of its formulations. He also said that anti-Soviet propaganda should be abandoned. We can have contacts with Moscow or Leningrad workers, but we should not try to teach them anything. Our message was a bit rash. We criticize the party establishment [nomenklatura], but are we not afraid of the Solidarity establishment? Professor Kurowski dropped fine slogans here, but let us remember that Gierek's slogans were just as fine. Let us not delude ourselves that things will improve rapidly.

At the evening session, the plenary discussion continued. It was dominated by the issue of the attitude toward the PZPR and of access to the mass media. One speaker, Kazimierz Switon from Silesia, said that it is necessary to weaken the party and that the party members in Solidarity must declare themselves. We must not serve the enemy, he said and asked for party pluralism and for Solidarity's support for the opposition "party."

Jerzy Jastrzebowski from Mazowsze proposed a boycott of radio and television. Formal issues took up a lot of time. A letter from the Hungarian National Trade Union Council of 23 September was also read. The letter noted the unsuitability of the so-called message to the working people in Eastern Europe, a message which constitutes for the Hungarian trade unionists a practical rejection of traditional, fraternal cooperation.

PAPERS REPORT GASPAR LETTER, WALESA RESPONSE

Gaspar Letter

AU071303 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 5 Oct 81 pp 1, 4

[Leszek Bedkowski, Janusz Reiter report on the 3 and 4 October sessions of the Solidarity congress in Gdansk]

[Excerpt] The letter sent to Lech Walesa by Sandor Gaspar, secretary general of the Hungarian National Trade Union Council, created, it seems, far more interest among the congress guests and observers than among the delegates, who are wholly engrossed in the election campaign.

This does not change the nature of the event, which is a significant political fact, and the Solidarity authorities will have to return to it sooner or later.

Sandor Gaspar wrote that he had received the invitation to the congress, but that this had come too late for him to attend the first round. He explained why the Hungarian trade unionists were not represented at the second round: "Our public opinion and Hungarian trade unionists looked forward to your congress with keen interest. I can tell you frankly that we have been disappointed in our expectations. The Hungarian trade unionists' reluctance and astonishment were caused by your congress' message to 'all the working people of Eastern Europe,' which appeals for 'setting up free trade unions' and for following the Polish example.

"We regard that message as interference in our country's internal affairs and we reject it. This has made it impossible to attend the second round of the congress."

Every trade union movement, Sandor Gaspar stated, acts in line with its country's historical traditions and specific conditions. He regards it as natural that no one should stipulate within what framework and in what way the Hungarian trade unions are to work. Agreeing that exchanges of mutual experience are of great importance, Gaspar wrote: "The workers' movement and the trade union movement have their own logic and ethics. What you have proposed and the way in which you have proposed it is in conflict and does not agree with that."

The Hungarian trade unions work under socialist conditions and maintain consistent contacts with the European and other trade unions. They use their experience in the interest of the working people. "But," S. Gaspar stated, "what you propose is unacceptable. We make no secret of the fact that we have been astonished by the courage and self-assurance with which -- after a year of existence -- you give advice in your message to the working people in socialist countries."

Gaspar asked Walesa why the message had been addressed to the Hungarian trade unions and not, for example, to President Reagan, who had crushed the strike of air traffic contollers, to Mrs Thatcher, who had declared that she would not take the TUC [Trade Union Congress] decisions into account, or to the third world countries, where the trade union movement is being persecuted. Gaspar takes the view that the Solidarity congress has expressed an antisocialist and anti-Soviet program and that he would not be a partner to such a program.

However, in conclusion he wrote: "In the spirit of the internationalist duty and traditional Polish-Hungarian friendship we are ready at any time to conduct talks and discuss the role and mission of the trade unions."

Walesa Reply

AU081320 Warsaw GLOS PRACY in Polish 6 Oct 81 p 2

["Lech Walesa's Reply to the Letter From Sandor Gaspar"]

[Text] Mr Sandor Gaspar, secretary general of the Hungarian National Trade Union Council, in Budapest:

Esteemed Sir,

I have received your letter of 23 September. I very much regret that you have not availed yourself of my invitation. We have invited to our congress representatives of all international trade union federations and many trade unions from other countries with which we have established relations.

We have also invited trade union representatives from the socialist countries. I think that if you had attended our congress you would have found out that the information spread about our union by the mass media of some countries is not true.

You would have found above all that Solidarity is a union of the working people, one that has grown out of the mutiny against injustice, lawlessness and lies. You would have seen that our union serves the interests of the workers and that all our activities to repair our republic are inspired by this task.

We know that our road is tough and that perhaps there will be many misunderstandings. We think that they should be patiently clarified. Our union has assumed the struggle for the working people's affairs and their influence on the country's life so that no one makes decisions on our behalf without us. We threaten no one; we have neither tanks nor missiles. We are inspired by the brotherhood of all the working people in Poland and the world.

I am pleased that you have recalled the traditional Polish-Hungarian friendship, in the spirit of which I invite you once again to come to Poland.

I hope that your press will publish my letter.

With trade union greetings,

[Signed] Lech Walesa

KOR DISSOLUTION, CITIZENS' MILITIA UNION VIEWED

AU070830 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 29 Sep 81 pp 1-2

[Ewa Grunert and Jerzy Gonczerski report: "The Congress of the Solidarity Delegates: Advancing in Short Steps"]

[Excerpts] The rumors about the dissolution of the KOR Social Self-Defense Committee circulated in the corridors of the Oliwia Hall and among the accredited journalists even late on Sunday. The observers were more interested in the confirmation of that news than in the discussion scheduled for Monday on a very important congress document, the electoral regulations.

The journalists proved to be right in their intuition. The third day of the Solidarity congress proceedings began with the speech delivered by Prof Edward Lipinski, founding member of the KOR Social Self-Defense Committee and invited guest to the congress, who in particular read a statement by the committee. Here are extensive quotes:

"In the summer of 1976, an action was launched to assist the workers punished for their participation in the June strikes. For this purpose, on 23 September, we founded the Workers Defense Committee [KOR]. We were a group of persons with various political and ideological convictions. We were united in the conviction that the Solidarity activity of the public and the formation of independent social institutions expressing the will of individual groups and successfully defending civil rights were the most appropriate to check lawlessness.

"In September 1977, when Radom and Ursus workers were released from prison, KOR found it necessary to expand its goals so as to encompass in its activities people from all classes and groups who were deprived of their rights and of self-defense. We were not put on the harshest trials, and were able to act primarily due to public support. We owe a great deal to the late Cardinal Stefan Wyszynski, primate of Poland, who repeatedly defended us aginst persecutions, as well as to other moral authorities in the cultural and scientific world both in this country and abroad. Independent social institutions and primarily Solidarity, as the authentic representative of our society have now become powerful instruments for social self-defense. We consider that at present, when Solidarity is holding its first congress and democratic elections, the struggle for the repair of the Polish Republic should be entrusted to its forces and intentions. On the fifth anniversary of the formation of KOR, we consider our activity as completed. No one must think that this decision was dictated by the fear of dishonest attacks by official propaganda both in our country and abroad. We are making this decision loyal to values which we have always tried to serve: honesty and truth.

"... It is not for us to assess our work. We would like it to contribute to the great national cause of creating an independent, just and democratic Poland."

Prof E. Lipinski read the list of KOR founding members and asked the delegates to hold 1 minute of silence in memory of two deceased professors who were founding members of the committee.

Having read the statement, Prof E. Lipinski called it KOR's "testament." He shared his opinions about the present sociopolitical situation in the country and about the role of Solidarity. At the end he said: "There are forces striving for freedom and demanding normal living conditions for the Polish people. Those forces are not antisocialist."

The dissolution of the KOR Social Self-Defense Committee was received with great interest at the afternoon press conference attended by several hundred Polish and foreign journalists. The congress spokesman, Janusz Onyszkiewicz, invited to the conference Dr Jan Jozef Lipski, another founding member of the KOR Social Self-Defense Committee and also a congress delegate. Asked why the committee was dissolved, Jan J. Lipski confirmed the reasons set forth in the statement presented to the delegates and added: "We thought that whenever KOR intervened in important social issues, its opinions would be identical to those of Solidarity."

Asked if KOR would have dissolved if its members had been imprisoned instead of the "confederates" [members of the Confederation for an Independent Poland], Jan J. Lipski said: "No. As in a family, there are certain ties among friends. The fact of the KOR dissolution alone does not signify that we will not fight for people imprisoned for their convictions.

The delegates interrupted their discussion and voting on various versions of regulations on the election of the union's supreme bodies at the arrival -- a sensational arrival, in the opinion of many observers -- of a delegation of the Founding Committee of the Citizens' Militia Functionaries Trade Union, which has been invited to the congress before.

The delegates familiarized themselves with the situation in that union from a report sent to the Oliwia Hall by the chief of the union which still has not been registered. Jerzy Zmudziak, member of the Founding Committee of the Citizens' Militia Functionaries Trade Union, received great applause when he took the platform. He briefly presented the history of the union's founding. On 26 May 1981, a party meeting held in the emergency Citizens' Militia battalion in Warsaw set up a founding committee to convene a national congress. The congress was held on 1 June 1981 and was attended by 2,000 delegates from all parts of the country. They brought the lists of 40,000 citizen-militiamen willing to join the union. In June the Warsaw Voivodship Court filed the registration documents. The minister of justice has asked the Supreme Court if a citizen-militiaman is a worker. In connection with this, the registration hearing has been postponed until the question is answered.

On the platofrm Zmudziak asked the rhetorical question: "Are there slaves in Poland who are not even workers and, in our opinion, are only good enough for dirty jobs?" This question was loudly applauded. The delegates also applauded the following: "We demand that no citizen-militiaman be used to suppress the just protests of the workers class. Social conflicts must be settled by dialogue and without the use of force." Interest in the militia trade union was confirmed once again at the evening press conference. The questions were answered by Sieranski, Kledzik, Bartczak and Zmudziak. Portions of the conference follow:

[Question] Why do you wear plain clothes?

[Answer] Because on 17 June we were dismissed from the Citizens' Militia as a result of the regulation providing that, for the good of the service, each militiaman may be summarily dismissed without giving reasons. There are three sergeants and a captain in the hall. Although we have been dismissed, our trade union members still in service have not deprived us of their confidence.

[Question] How do you reconcile the formation of your union with loyalty to the state commanding the militia?

[Answer] Whoever accepts the union goals is free to join us. We do not act disloyally to the state. As is known, the Citizens' Militia is in charge of law and order. We will only fight irregularities in the ministry.

[Question] What part of the militiamen does your union represent?

[Answer] We cannot answer this question because service secrets are still binding on us.

W. Czapko, Solidarity committee deputy chairman at the Szczyglowice coal mine, who arrived at the congress expressly to inform the delegates about the situation after the arrest of T. Arendt, committee chairman, answered the journalists' questions at the afternoon press conference.

[Question] In your opinion, was it necessary to put Jan Matenko, enterprise committee chairman of the miners trade union, in a wheelbarrow?

[Answer] What happened was bad, but, in view of the great excitement among miners at the shop meeting, the other alternatives were even worse.

Lech Walesa addressed a Telex message to the striking collective of the Szczyglowice coal mine saying in particular: "I express my appreciation of the stand taken by the entire collective in defense of colleague T. Arendt. Be confident that we will do our best to enable your colleague Arendt to rejoin you as soon as possible."

According to the press spokesman of the Dabrowa Slaska region, a strike alert was resumed there on Monday, and the regional board was transformed into the strike committee. Leszek Waliszewski, regional chief, left Gdansk for Katowice.

The delegates were also perturbed by the news conveyed by members of the Czestochowa regional board of the detention of an employee of the trade union printing office charged by the prosecutor with anti-Soviet activity.

CZYREK ADDRESSES YOUTH UNION ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

LD070810 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0400 GMT 7 Oct 81

[Text] Jozef Czyrek, Politburo member, PZPR Central Committee secretary and minister of foreign affairs, met in Srodborow, near Warsaw, with activists of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth engaged in studying international affairs and cooperation with youth organizations from other countries. During the meeting, Minister Jozef Czyrek outlined the present international situation and, against this background, issues pertaining to the foreign policy of our state. He also answered many questions.

TEACHERS TO BEGIN PROTEST ACTION 14 OCT

LD072138 Warsaw PAP in English 2015 GMT 7 Oct 81

[Text] Warsaw, 7 Oct (PAP) -- Strike committees formed by teachers in various regions decided to start a protest action from October 14, the teachers' day, over the government's delay in the work on a draft of the amended "Charter of the Teachers' Rights and Duties."

An extraordinary plenary meeting of the Main Board of the Polish Teachers Union [ZNP] to discuss firm protest actions in this connection will be held here on October 9.

ZNP Chairman Wlodzimierz Pilat said that, in keeping with the social agreements and [word indistinct] of the last ZNP congress, the amended charter was to have come into force on September 1, 1981. "As a union, we showed great patience on this issue and worked on the charter for the last twelve months."

KRAKOW MEDICAL STUDENTS SUSPEND HUNGER STRIKE

LD071714 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1646 GMT 7 Oct 81

[Text] The would-be students of the Medical Academy in Krakow held a hunger strike. It was continuing yesterday but today it was interrupted. (Leszek Chorwat) went to the medical academy at 1215. Here is the statement:

We, candidates for the first year of study at the Krakow Medical Academy, while occupying the [name indistinct] hall at the academy, herewith decide to suspend the hunger strike which started on 6 October 1981 at 1200. The decision on suspension of the hunger protest action was taken following mediation with a group of Sejm deputies [names indistinct]. This is an act of our good will and our trust in the Sejm. Our decision is in force until 9 October; after this date we are ready to continue the hunger strike.

KPN DEFENDANTS ATTEMPT TO EXTEND TRIAL NOTED

LD072300 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 7 Oct 81

[Text] At the trial of the leaders of the Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN] before the Warsaw Voivodship Court, the prosecutor has presented a statement in which he states, among other things, that the defendants are purposely and consistently trying to extend the trial and are not allowing the presentation of evidence [postepowanie dowodowe] to begin. At the present time, the prosecutor stated, the defendants' rights to defense had in no way been curtailed and nobody intends to curtail them.

However, it must be said that the defendants, taking full advantage of their right are at the same time incessantly abusing it and overstepping it and trying to force the court to adopt a specific style of conducting the trial, with the aim of achieving their own ends.

In connection with this attempt, the prosecutor moved that the court should effectively counteract those intentions by intervening in the content of the defendants' explanations, so that they stay linked to the subject of the indictment.

ECONOMIC REFORM COMMISSION HOLDS MEETING

Jaruzelski Opens Debates

LD071758 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 7 Oct 81

[Text] In Warsaw the Commission for Economic Reform is holding debates. It is chaired by the premier, Army Gen Wojceich Jaruzelski.

The agenda envisages discussion of the draft normative laws [akty normatywne], mainly of an executive character, which give concrete form to the methods and forms of implementing the economic reform; and, among others, consideration of the report by the State Price Commission on the changes in retail prices and the system of compensation, consideration of the draft bill on the People's Councils, and on giving rights to act in the sphere of foreign trade.

Opening the debates, Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski referred to the bills -- recently passed by the Sejm -- on the enterprise, and on workforce self-management. He also stated that the resolution of the Solidarity congress on this matter may create difficulties in the implementation and effectiveness of the economic reform.

Speaking of the reform itself, the premier stressed that in the light of previous experience, also in other countries, it has the character of a precedent. It will be implemented in difficult economic conditions, with a lack of economic equilibrium and many threats to the correct functioning of the economy.

Therefore, as the reform is introduced, the role of the commission also changes. It is necessary every day to establish broad consultations closely following the development of the economy.

The work of the commission, as its secretary stressed, will at present concentrate on the preparation and consultation in depth on the draft bills conditioning the implementation of the reform. A package of such bills will be presented to the commission by the government in the near future, and it is also being consulted on in 100 select enterprises.

Further Details

LD080012 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2300 GMT 7 Oct 81

[Text] A meeting of the Commission for Economic Reform took place at the Council of Ministers' office in Warsaw. The session was chaired by Premier Woiciech Jaruzelski.

Much discussion was evoked by the draft of the brochure containing the [word indistinct] and the justification of the reform of retail prices for foodstuffs, fuel and electricity, presented by Minister Zdzislaw Krasinski, chairman of the State Price Commission. Stressing the vital need for price changes, many of the debates also stated that as time passes the market imbalance is increasing to an ever greater extent. The population's income is outrunning the supply of goods.

In the opinion of some of the commission's members, the retail price reform in the version proposed will contribute only to a small degree to eliminating the enormous inflationary surplus [nawis inflacyjny]. It was stated that activity leading to balancing the market must be comprehensive in nature and long term. It should concentrate both on [words indistinct] of production and on measures of a fiscal nature.

The commission also came out in favor of the quickest possible publication of the brochure containing a broad [word indistinct] of the principles of the proposed price changes. Before publication, however, it is necessary to make essential amendments to it, showing that the proposed scope of the price rises for foodstuffs, fuel and power (?linked) to compensation does not exhaust the problem of putting the market to rights and achieving equilibrium.

Jaruzelski Remarks

LD080914 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0600 GMT 8 Oct 81

[Excerpts] Let us recall that the Economic Reform Commission met yesterday under the chairmanship of Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski. Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski stressed that the time of the commission's meeting was very significant because of the need to undertake practical actions, particularly following the adoption by the Sejm of laws on enterprises and workers' self-management.

We are aware of the need for reforms but we are also aware of the economic dangers, said Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski. We regret the Solidarity congress resolution on the Sejm decision on self-management.

SEJM DEPUTY VIEWS ECONOMIC MISMANAGEMENT

LD072336 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 7 Oct 81

[7 October interview of Sejm Deputy Jadwiga Gizycka-Koprowska introduced and conducted by Warsaw Radio correspondent Stanislaw Skotnicki -- recorded]

[Text] [Question] Three months ago the Sejm Commission for Internal Affairs and the Administration of Justice sent a request to the minister of justice on the important issue of prosecuting persons who are guilty of mismanagement. At today's meeting of the commission Deputy Jadwiga Gizycka-Koprowska spoke about it.

Madam, the matter concerns the application of Article 217 of the penal code. What does it say?

[Answer] It concerns neglect of duty or exceeding one's authority by persons who perform responsible functions in units of the socialized economy and bring about economic loses by improper management.

[Question] Why then have I heard in the Sejm that there are difficulties in finding appropriate penal code articles according to which all those who contributed toward bringing us to the abyss of economic crisis may be prosecuted?

[Answer] When we dealt with the problem we found out that Paragraph 3 of Article 217 is formulated in such a way that the organs of state administration have to decide that damage was caused to the socialized economy before appropriate organs can commence prosecution.

[Question] Since the organs of administration have to decide, it is not difficult to guess that they will do everything to prevent the case.

[Answer] Most certainly yes, since during the past decade, that is, since the code has been in force, not a single case was submitted to the courts under Paragraph 3 of Article 217.

[Question] What is the way out of the situation? In addition to being a deputy you are also a lawyer. Is it really impossible to prosecute all those who obviously demonstrated mismanagement and squandered many of our achievements and efforts?

[Answer] I think that first of all we must wait for the results of investigation, because the minister of justice gave a reply to the commission in which he informed the commission that he has instigated an investigation. With his reply he enclosed a program of work, and we know that such work has been done by legal bodies and will be received by the Sejm.

DIFFICULTIES IN MAINTAINING PUBLIC ORDER VIEWED

LD071950 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 7 Oct 81

[Text] The main object of today's session of the Sejm Commission for Internal Affairs and Administration of Justice concerned adopting a stand on the report from the Ministry of Domestic Trade and Services concerning the current situation in the sphere of public order in the country and the ministry's tasks related to this situation.

It emerges from the report submitted by the vice minister of domestic affairs, Adam Kszysztoporski, that the unfavorable phenomena connected with maintaining public order in the country have recently deteriorated further. There is an increased danger from the activities of the enemies of socialism. The increased activity of members of the Confederation for an Independent Poland is being observed. These people are striving at the expansion of organizational structures, mainly among the working class. [sentence as heard]

The lack of discipline and the weakening of the role of the leading cadres in work establishments is connected with the increasing manifestation of squandering and bad use of resources. The danger from all types of criminal offenses continues at a high level. Various anti-Soviet excesses occur.

Fifty penal proceedings connected with engaging in anti-Soviet propaganda are in progress. Some of these cases affect branches of Solidarity. The Ministry of Domestic Affairs is working in much more difficult conditions now. The campaign of slandering the Citizens' Militia and the security services by accusing them of violating the law has brought about a deterioration of the social climate in the militia's work. There have recently been frequent cases of assaults against militia functionaries. Attempts are being made to disrupt and disintegrate the ministry from inside. This was the nature of activities designed to establish a trade union of Citizens' Militia functionaries.

Talks were conducted on this problem with over 500 functionaries engaged in the organization of the union, ninety-six of them who have stated that they are not giving up these activities have been dismissed from the Citizens' Militia.

Poland's complex internal situation is being exploited by some capitalist countries in order to intensify the destructive and subversive activities. The number of attempts to recruit citizens of the Polish People's Republic for intelligence and diversionary activities has increased by 40 percent.

The deputies have shown their anxiety to the poor state of public order that has already lasted many months.

COUNCIL OF STATE HOLDS SESSION ON LEGAL REFORMS

LD071852 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 7 Oct 81

[Text] At its session today in the Belweder Palace the Council of State heard a report by the minister of justice, Professor Sylwester Zawadzki, on the work of the ministry aimed at shaping a new organizational model for the judiciary.

The need to reorganize the judiciary emanates from an assessment of the existing practice and from the program of the ninth extraordinary party congress concerning increasing the authority of the law and unifying the structure of the general judiciary as the main body of legal protection. The process of democratization and consolidation of law observance entails a broadening of the powers of the courts.

New tasks emerge for them from the laws on the state enterprise and on workers self-management, from the laws being compiled on the trade unions, from the updating of the labor law and from many other planned laws linked with the economic reform and with improving social life. As a result of the broadened powers of the judiciary, many tens of thousands of additional cases will have to be examined. Taking into account the shortcomings of the previous organization of the judiciary, as well as the broadened powers, and the growing social expectations in the sphere of strengthening social justice, the ministry has compiled a reorganization project for the judiciary, envisaging in particular its overall integration. Moreover, the ministry is considering cutting the number of district courts at voivodship level, in order to create conditions for professional specialization of judges and raising the standard of jurisdiction. The Council of State discussed the general directions of organizational work, the significance of the consultation on detailed solutions, envisaged by the Ministry of Justice, and the need for its gradual implementation was stressed. The Council of State appointed Stanislaw Kosicki as chairman of the Chief Office for the Control of Press, Publishing and Public Performances and appointed Tadeusz Ratajski -- who was at the same time entrusted with the duties of first deputy chairman -- Marian Andrezjewski and Jan Pakula as deputy chairmen of the Chief Office.

It appointed Ryszard Fijalkowski as ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Sri Lanka. He will hold the post together with that of ambassador of Poland to the Republic of India.

COUNCIL OF BANKS DISCUSSES FISCAL POLICY

LD062022 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 6 Oct 81

[Text] A meeting of the Council of Banks [Rada Bankow], a new body established according to the banking law amended by the Sejm in July this year, was held in Warsaw. The main tasks of the council include, among others, working out the monetary and credits policy and evaluation of the implementation of such policies. Today the council, whose work is directed by the chairman of the National Bank of Poland, Stanislaw (Majewski), dealt with the monetary balance of the population's incomes and expenditure for the fourth quarter. The session was attended by Minister of Finance Marian Krzak. It was stated, among other things, that the high growth of the population's income in the last 3 months of the year will continue, and the supplies of goods -- calculated at current retail prices -- will only slightly exceed last year's level. The stocks of goods are at present at a critical level. It was stated that so far it has been impossible to arrest the worsening of the crises phenomenon. It is estimated that this year, the population's monetary incomes will increase by no less than 27 percent compared with those of last year.

Increasing incomes do not find an equivalent increase in the supply of goods. The annual increase in the wages' fund is estimated at 25.6 percent, which does not correspond to the assumptions of the corrected annual plan which assumed a growth of slightly more than 21 percent. The unfavorable character of the trend is worsened by a further fall in production.

The increased monetary income of the population in the fourth quarter of this year will amount to Z44 billion. It is estimated that by the end of this year the so-called inflationary gap, that is, money which cannot be spent because of the shortages of goods, will be about Z350 billion.

The Council of Banks decided that in this kind of situation, irrespective of the steps taken by the economic administration, it is essential for the banks to intensify their activity aimed at alleviating market tensions. It has also been established that the National Bank of Poland, together with the food economy bank, will urgently prepare a proposal for higher rates of interest on savings with simultaneous increases in the interest payments for bank credits.

JOURNALISTS CHIEF BRATKOWSKI INTERVIEWED

PM061407 Amsterdam DE VOLKSKRANT in Dutch 3 Oct 81 p 17

[Hendrik de Jong undated interview with Association of Polish Journalists Chairman Stefan Bratkowski: "Polish Leaders Amateurs at Propaganda"]

[Text] The Hague -- "The majority of Polish leaders are convinced that they know how to make propaganda. But in my eyes they are absolute amateurs. They do not understand the most elementary concepts of social psychology. These leaders cannot see that it is better to have journalists as partners than as servants of those in power. For such a servant is rightly trusted by nobody. Their words mean nothing at all. Only if a more independent press comes into existence in Poland can the Communist Party win confidence in society." So said Association of Polish Journalists Chairman Stefan Bratkowski, who is staying in the Netherlands for a few days at the invitation of the Netherlands Association of Chief Editors.

The small, amiable, black-bearded man knows what he is talking about. He knows personally what price must be paid for unconventional ideas. Bratkowski is still recovering from a heart attack, after making no secret of his previous sharp criticism of the advocates of the hard line in the Polish Communist Party top leadership. He is taken to be a liberal in the Polish Communist Party. He is a very controversial figure in this company, although the party has called on his help in various crises and asked him to function as mediator with the Solidarity free trade union. As a prominent member of the intellectual group DIP [Exerience and Future] he knocked in vain on Gierek's door calling on him to implement reforms, because it was too late. Bratkowski certainly has no lack of courage and he does not mince words.

With a quiet voice he told me about the wall of incomprehension with which the party authorities meet the wishes of critical Polish journalists. A little while ago he proposed to one of the ministers in the present Polish Government that he should organize a small meeting each week with a number of Polish journalists. The intention was to analyze the current problems and, together with the minister concerned, to look at how things of this sort could best be written about. But the very revealing reaction from the minister was: "They would not write what I want." Bratkowski mentioned yet another example. "From a recent opinion poll it is clear that no fewer than 83 percent of the population has no confidence in the truthfulness of the news on Polish Television. But the majority of authorities do not permit us to exercise our trade. They want to dictate. I am not against the party, but only by being critical can I be of service to the party and the country," Bratkowski said.

Of the continuing crisis and the inability of the Polish leadership to get an effective program off the ground, Bratkowski said: "Jaruzelski (the premier) was the last trump card in this game. However, his position has been weakened. When General Jaruzelski became premier 6 months ago, he wanted to implement rapid economic reforms, but he ran up against the bureaucracy. The public servants are fighting for their threatened position. To give a paradoxical example: the food rationing coupons. Some 42 million were printed, where there are only 36 million Poles. No one knows how and why this happened," Bratkowski said.

In Jaruzelski Bratkowski sees an intellectual and a soldier through and through, whose lot it was to become a politician.

"Of course things are not easy for Jaruzelski. He is operating cautiously. He is a good administrator, but not a manager and he knows it." According to Bratkowski, party leader Kania is a man of good will. "Kania is equal to his task. He is tolerant, knows his limitations, knows what is possible and what is important; unlike Gierek, Kania is not vain." Bratkowski sees Kania's drawbacks as the fact that he does not make decisions quickly, something which is necessary in crisis situations. Then Bratkowski thinks that Kania has the limited imagination of a man from the old party apparatus. But according to Bratkowski, Kania is a man who can listen to his advisers.

"He will not change his opinion on the spot, but perhaps a few days later he will realize that the others are right," said Bratkowski who knows the present Polish leaders closely. He recalled that once Kania had to speak to the harbor workers in Gdynia. The party leader was attacked sharply from all sides, but he knew how to handle himself and he was not afriad. When he was sitting on the aircraft on the way back to Warsaw he admitted "that was not a school, but a university for me." Although there is much criticism of Jaruzelski and Kania, Bratkowski believes that people will not forget that they nevertheless were the architects of the policies which have been pursued since August 1980 without the use of force.

He sees further difficulties for their policies. Bratkowski pointed out that the large collection of younger party members who were elected to the highest bodies at the last party congress have become frustrated. "They had been expecting that the situation would change with their election. They wanted to be authentic but the party bureaucrats were ready to preserve their old style of government. It is not so much a problem of people as a problem of putting things into practice. It has now become impossible to rule without involving other social groups, such as Solidarity, in this process," Bratkowski said.

The controversial Association of Polish Journalists chairman has pinned all his hopes in this connection on a proposal made recently in a speech by influential Politburo member Olszowski. Olszowski launched the remarkable idea that an expansion of the government's power base was necessary. In this broad coalition Solidarity and the extremely powerful Roman Catholic Church in Poland would have to be given a place. Precisely because even shortly before this speech Olszowski was thought of as a hardliner, Bratkowski thinks that there is a reasonable chance that this proposal will be accepted by the party.

But will the Kremlin accept such a breach in the Communist Party's power monopoly? Bratkowski: "Traditionally and culturally Poland occupies a special position in Eastern Europe. Our model would not be easy to export. In the Soviet Union economic reforms will be introduced over the next 6 or 7 years, but step by step. They will not follow a Polish model, but a Russian path to a new Russian model, because they have a completely different history to us. Young people in Solidarity who want to help the Russian workers do not understand the Russians. The Russian state and the love of the fatherland are a form of religion, for which the Russians are prepared to sacrifice themselves. The many Russian politicians and their expert diplomats come to Warsaw to ask questions. It is absolutely new for them. But they will accept the changes. We need each other as loyal partners. The outcry and abuse in their press organs are pure liturgy. It is a ritual dance," Bratkowski said.

At the end of the interview I asked Bratkowski how he can still be a member of a party in which a man like Siwak, who a few months ago at a party conference in Warsaw attacked him in an unashamedly anti-Semitic fashion, is now a member of the party's supreme organ, the Politburo. Bratkowski: "I am not responsible for this choice. It was probably the price which Kania had to pay."

RAKOWSKI ON GOVERNMENT-SOLIDARITY COOPERATION

LD070958 Warsaw PAP in English 0817 GMT 7 Oct 81

[Text] Warsaw, 6 Oct (PAP) -- Speaking in Sieradz, Vice-Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski said that "we can get out of the crisis only when we are not [words indistinct] or, what is worse, totally condemn everything that we have done for the past 30 years. After all, we cannot permanently live on credit." Discussing economic issues, Vice-Premier Rakowski stressed that now the No. 1 problem for Poland is the question of coal extraction. "The successive decrease in the mining of this raw material, which is now taking place, can finally lead to destroying the entire Polish economy."

Referring to the ongoing debates of the Solidarnosc congress, the vice-premier said that nowadays it is difficult to predict what the future relations with Solidarnosc will be. We are waiting, first of all, for a full text of the union programme. On this occasion I would like to explain that some people charge the government and me with unwillingness of talking with Solidarnosc. But I only said that I think there are no reasons for holding any talks with this union before the second round of the congress. Of course, we are cooperating daily with each other. This concerns, for instance, the farmers' Solidarnosc.

I am also reproached with burying the partnerlike dialogue. Meanwhile, I continue to believe that it is possible to create such an arrangement in Poland in which all social forces, including Solidarnosc, will take part. Probably, this will not take place too quickly, perhaps in a few years. But there are chances for this.

One thing is certain -- the government is for the line of agreement. But it is a different matter that this line can fluctuate. After all, one cannot draw too simplified conclusions from each tension or even a row and declare that everything has already been buried. In my opinion, despite a bad economic situation an atmosphere continues to exist for solving conflicts by talks, even by quarrelling sometimes over individual issues.

COOPERATIVES CONGRESS MEMBERS MEET JARUZELSKI

LD080414 Warsaw in English to Europe 2230 GMT 8 Oct 81

[Text] Prime Minister Wojciech Jaruzelski, accompanied by Secretary of the Polish United Workers Party Central Committee Marian Wozniak and Deputy Premier Jerzy Ozdowski, have received a group of 25 participants in the congress of cooperatives dealing in market production and services. They reviewed the key problems facing these cooperatives and their place and role in the national economy, and their comprehensive economic reform.

ITALY GRANTS CREDITS TO PURCHASE FOODSTUFFS

LD072148 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 7 Oct 81

[Telephone dispatch from Rome by editor Wasilewski]

[Text] Italian Foreign Minister Emilio Colombo received Polish Ambassador to Italy Emil Wojtaszek, with whom he had a long and warm conversation. During the meeting documents were exchanged, on the basis of which Italy will give Poland credits amounting to $5.55 million, earmarked for the purchase on favorable terms of Italian foodstuffs. Within the framework of the decision taken by the Italian Government in August this year, a new loan amounting to 60 billion lira will also be granted in the immediate future, which will enable Poland to take advantage of the earlier obtained credit [word indistinct] amounting to 400 billion lira for the purchase of foodstuffs on the Italian market.

NATIONAL MOURNING DECLARED FOR AS-SADAT

AU080914 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0900 GMT 8 Oct 81

[Text] In connection with the passing away of President Muhammad Anwar as-Sadat, the Council of State and Council of Ministers of the Socialist Republic of Romania have adopted the following decision:

As a token of high appreciation and to pay deep homage to President Muhammad Anwar as-Sadat, the Council of State and Council of Ministers of the Socialist Republic of Romania have decided to proclaim national mourning throughout the Socialist Republic of Romania on 9-10 October 1981.

On the day of President Muhammad Anwar as-Sadat's funeral, 10 October 1981, the flag of the Socialist Republic of Romania wil be lowered to half mast.

On the days of national mourning, theaters, cinemas, radio and television stations and the other cultural and art institutions will adapt their programs accordingly.

SHIBAYEV-LED SOVIET TU DELEGATION PAYS VISIT

Ceausescu Receives Shibayev

AU071252 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1958 GMT 6 Oct 81

[Text] Bucharest, 6 Oct (AGERPRES) -- On October 6, Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP, president of Romania, received the delegation of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions of the Soviet Union, led by Alexey Shibayev, member of the CC of the CPSU, chairman of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, now on a visit to Romania.

During the interview, the good relations were highlighted of close friendship and productive collaboration between Romania and the Soviet Union and the mutual wish was emphasized to expand and deepen the Romanian-Soviet fruitful cooperation on multiple planes, stress being laid on the significance of intensifying the links between the working people in Romania and the USSR, between the T.U. organizations of the two countries, for the steady strengthening of friendship and collaboration between the two parties and states, between the Romanian and Soviet peoples, for the benefit of both countries, of the general cause of socialism and peace in the world. During the interview, questions of the current international life were also approached. In this context, the sides highlighted the decisive role the working class, the trade unions play in the struggle for the lessening of tension in international life, for the resumption and continuation of the policy of detente, peace and respect for national independence, for the peaceful settlement of interstate litigious questions, for the adoption of concrete measures of disarmament, nuclear disarmament first of all, for the cessation of the manufacture and deployment in Europe of new missiles and mass destruction weapons, for a new international economic order.

It was pointed out that, through joint actions, the working people all over the world could make an important contribution to the settlement of the complex questions of the contemporary world, in the interest of all peoples, of peace, security, cooperation and understanding among all nations.

The interview passed in a warm, comradely atmosphere.

Onescu, Shibayev Hold Talks

AU072114 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1905 GMT 7 Oct 81

[Text] Bucharest, 7 Oct (AGERPRES) -- During the talks between the Soviet T.U. delegation, led by Alexey Ivanovich Shibayev, chairman of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions of the USSR, that paid a visit to Romania over October 3-6, and the delegation of the General Trade Union Confederation of Romania, led by Cornel Onescu, chairman of the Central Council, information was exchanged on the experience, role and main concerns of the trade unions in the two countries, on the contribution they made to the economic and social-cultural development, to the building of socialism and communism in Romania and in the USSR.

The exchange of views highlighted the special importance of the meetings and understandings convenanted between Nicolae Ceausescu and Leonid Ilich Brezhnev for the development and deepening of friendship and multilateral collaboration between the two countries and peoples, on the basis of the principles of equal rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty and of international solidarity.

In that context, satisfaction was expressed at the steady development, at all levels and in all fields of activity, of the Romanian-Soviet relations on a T.U. line.

In connection with the current questions of the international life and of the world T.U. movement, the wish of the working people and trade unions of the two countries was expressed to contribute to strengthening peace and confidence among peoples. It was also highlighted that the working people, the trade unions, acting in close unity, could make a greater contribution to the settlement of the major questions of the contemporary world, in the interest of the working class, of peoples, of cooperation and understanding among all peoples.

The talks conducted by the two delegations passed in an atmosphere of warm friendship and cordiality.

ECONOMIC TALKS HELD WITH BULGARIA'S LUKANOV

Verdet Receives Lukanov

AU071426 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1400 GMT 7 Oct 81

[Text] Comrade Ilie Verdet, prime minister of the Romanian Government, today received Comrade Andrey Lukanov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and chairman of the Bulgarian side in the Romanian-Bulgarian Joint Government Commission for Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation. The meeting, which took place in a warm atmosphere, was attended by Comrade Emilian Dobrescu, deputy prime minister, chairman of the State Planning Committee and chairman of the Romanian side in the joint commission. Petur Danailov, Bulgarian ambassador to Bucharest, was also present.

The guest asked the Romanian prime minister to extend, on behalf of Comrade Todor Zhivkov, warm greetings and best wishes to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu. Expressing thanks, Comrade Ilie Verdet asked the guest to convey friendly greetings on behalf of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, as well as best wishes to Comrade Todor Zhivkov.

During the ensuing talk, the two sides stressed with great satisfaction the upward evolution of relations of close cooperation established between our countries and peoples, relations which are developing in conformity with agreements reached during the traditional meetings between Comrades Nicolae Ceausescu and Todor Zhivkov, as well as the positive results recorded in diversifying and expanding economic and other cooperation. The two sides stressed that the successes recorded in the multifaceted development of the national economies of the two countries confer a new scope on bilateral cooperation in the economic, technical, scientific and other fields in the interests of Romania and Bulgaria and the cause of socialism, detente and peace in the Balkans and throughout the world.

More Meetings

AU072054 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1920 GMT 7 Oct 81

[Text] Bucharest, 7 Oct (AGERPRES) -- On October 7, Andrey Lukanov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, co-chairman of the Joint Romanian-Bulgarian Governmental Commission of Economic and Technical-Scientific Cooperation, had interviews with Cornel Burtica, Romanian deputy prime minister, minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, and Emilian Dobrescu, deputy prime minister, chairman of the State Planning Committee, co-chairman of the joint commission.

Questions were examined regarding the expansion and diversification of economic and technical-scientific cooperation, as well as the development of commercial exchanges between the two neighbouring and friendly countries, in the spirit of the decisions adopted during the Romanian-Bulgarian top-level meetings.

DELEGATE CONDEMNS SOUTH AFRICA AT UN SESSION

AU071256 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1945 GMT 6 Oct 81

[Text] Bucharest, 6 Oct (AGERPRES) -- Among the questions to be examined by the Legal Committee of the UN General Assembly is the item regarding the peaceful settlement of interstate differences, which is a Romanian initiative focussing the attention of the UN already since 1979. Romania's representative was elected chairman of the special working group set up by the Legal Committee to continue the elaboration of the declaration to be finalized and submitted for approval to the General Assembly.

Taking the floor in connection with the item regarding the application of the programme of action of the decade for action to combat racism and racial discrimination, item examined by the social, humanitarian and cultural committee, the Romanian representative Ioan Voicu said that the policy of apartheid and racial discrimination was a defiance of humanity, a flagrant violation of the UN Charter, on the basic human rights, a serious danger to peace and international security. Firmly condemning this policy, the speaker went on, Romania has consistently supported the struggle of the population in South Africa for freedom and democracy just as the struggle the Namibian people wages, under the leadership of SWAPO, for putting an end to Namibia's illegal occupation, for attaining, without delay, its sacred right to freely choose its development path. The Romanian Government brands the armed attacks by the Pretoria regime against the neighbouring African countries, the aggressive acts against Angola and demands that an end be put without delay to all military acts that violate the independence and sovereignty of that state.

The Romanian representative also pointed to the importance of banning by law the organizations that propagate hatred and racial discrimination, reasserting Romania's stand in support of the promotion by all governments of a humanistic education in the spirit of the ideals of peace, friendship and mutual respect among peoples.

BRIEFS

BULGARIAN ACTIVISTS TALKS -- Comrade Marin Enache, chairman of the Central Council of Workers' Control of Socioeconomic Activities received the delegation of BCP activists led by Ivan Khlebarov, deputy department head at the BCP Central Committee, which visited Romania for an exchange of experience at the invitation of the RCP Central Committee. The meeting was attended by Comrade Lucian Dragut, first deputy chairman of the Central Council of Workers Control of Socioeconomic Activities and Bulgarian Ambassador Petur Danailov. [Text] [Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1400 GMT 2 Oct 81 AU]

REACTION TO DEATH OF EGYPT'S AS-SADAT SCORED

Presidency Sends Condolences

LD071846 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0956 GMT 7 Oct 81

[Text] Belgrade, 7 Oct (TANJUG) -- On the occasion of Egyptian President Anwar as-Sadat's death, Presidency of Yugoslavia President Sergeu Kraigher has sent, on behalf of the Presidency of Yugoslavia, a telegramme of condolences to Egyptian acting President Sufi Abu Talib who was also requested to convey the condolences to the family of the late Egyptian president.

The telegramme stresses the Presidency of Yugoslavia's conviction that the friendly Egyptian people, committed to the policy of non-alignment, will find also in these grave moments the strength to continue along the road which corresponds to its essential national interests as well as peace and broader security and cooperation.

Sundic Views Implications

LD071954 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 7 Oct 81

[Milka Sundic Commentary]

[Text] [Passage indistinct] However, whichever way it was, the policy which the Egyptian president led in the domestic, and especially foreign field, has been dealt a heavy blow. Even if they want to follow his policy, As-Sadat's successors will not be able to do so because this was more his policy than the policy of those who followed it. For this reason, it did not have a long-term prospect. For this reason, too, there arises the question of who was behind the attack -- was it only internal opponents or internal and external opponents of As-Sadat's policy? An important question also is how all this will be reflected in the trends and relations within the Arab world and in the behavior of the superpowers in the Near and Middle East region.

The first official statements by As-Sadat's successors are reassuring as far as the United States and Israel are concerned. However, Washington and Tel Aviv are as disturbed as if As-Sadat's successors had not said a word. No attempt has been made in Washington to conceal the concern about the political views of Husni Mubarak. It is said that he is not and never was in favor of reconciliation with Israel on the terms accepted by As-Sadat. Israel did not go as far as this in its reaction, but everything shows that in As-Sadat Israel has lost an important prop in its policy toward the Arab countries. This can certainly have a great effect on the relations between Cairo and Tel Aviv. It is possible that Israel, after As-Sadat's death, will not hurry to withdraw the remaining bases from Sinai.

The reaction of the Arab countries belonging to the so-called Rejection Front -- the countries which never reconciled themselves to the Egyptian-Israeli reconciliation and some of which are extremist countries -- cannot be taken as true indication of their future expectations. It is almost certain that in the forthcoming days and months, the policy of Egypt will not be decided solely by those who yesterday took over the commanding positions in the country -- assuming of course, that of those who were with As-Sadat watching the military parade none was in collusion with the plotters. This, it seems, is the greatest mystery of yesterday's attack in Cairo, in which the closest and most influential of As-Sadat's associates were not even wounded.

It is too early to speak about the depth of the plot against As-Sadat. Three organizations have announced that they were behind the attack. This cannot be correct, and it would be even less correct to assume that all those who wanted As-Sadat's head were all united in their aspirations. However, if any action is to clarify somewhat the confused situation in Egypt, this will most likely be the actions by As-Sadat's successors on the one hand and the actions by the forces behind As-Sadat's assassination on the other.

KAMPUCHEA'S PRINCE SIHANOUK CONTINUES VISIT

Talks With Mijatovic 6 Oct

LK061730 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1344 GMT 6 Oct 81

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 6 Oct (TANJUG) -- Cvijetin Mijatovic, member of the SFRY Presidency, had talks in the Palace of the Federation in Novi Beograd today with Norodom Sihanouk, who is in Yugoslavia on a 4-day visit.

During their very friendly and open talks, Cvijetin Mijatovic and Prince Sihanouk exchanged views on the current international situation, during which the question of Kampuchea was at the center of attention. Norodom Sihanouk briefed his host on his own views and attitudes on the development of the Kampuchean situation, on the international aspects of the crisis, and on the effect of various factors on this crisis flashpoint. He particularly spoke about the efforts of the Khmer people's patriotic forces to set up a united front whose goal would be an independent and democratic Kampuchea.

Cvijetin Mijatovic, member of the SFRY Presidency, briefed the visitor on Yugoslavia's views on the Kampuchean problem. Mijatovic emphasized that the basis of Yugoslavia's attitude was the desire for the establishment of an independent, democratic and nonaligned Kampuchea. He stressed that to this end it is necessary for foreign troops to withdraw from Kampuchea to enable its people to make free and sovereign decisions on their own destiny and social order. Cvijetin Mijatovic recalled that this was also the essence of the demands made in UN General Assembly resolutions and in decisions adopted at meetings of the nonaligned countries.

Cvijetin Mijatovic, member of the SFRY Presidency, positively assessed the efforts being made by the patriotic forces and their endeavor to make a joint contribution to the struggle for an independent and nonaligned Kampuchea.

Prince Norodom Sihanouk paid tribute to Yugoslavia for its attitudes and its activities aimed at resolving the Kampuchean crisis, because -- as he said -- he is deeply convinced that these attitudes are the result of the SFRY's sincere principles and consistent position with regard to all the problems and crises of this kind.

More on Talks

LK062132 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1823 GMT 6 Oct 81

[Text] Belgrade, 6 Oct (TANJUG) -- Presidency of Yugoslavia member Cvijetin Mijatovic and Prince Sihanouk of Cambodia, who yesterday arrived on a four-day visit to Yugoslavia, during their talks today focused on the problem of Kampuchea.

Prince Sihanouk spoke in detail about the efforts of the patriotic forces of the Khmer people for creating a united front with independent and democratic Kampuchea as its objective.

Prince Sihanouk paid tribute to Yugoslavia's activity toward the solution of the Kampuchea crisis. He stated the conviction that Yugoslavia's activity stems from its sincere, principled and consistent stand toward all problems and crises.

Presidency of Yugoslavia member Mijatovic assessed as positive the efforts of the patriotic forces of Kampuchea for a joint contribution to the struggle for their independent and non-aligned country. This is also Yugoslavia's aspiration, Mijatovic noted.

Mijatovic termed as indispensable the withdrawal of foreign troops from Kampuchea to enable the Kampuchean people freely and sovereignly to decide on its fate and social order.

In this direction, Mijatovic added, are turned also the demands contained in U.N. General Assembly resolutions and decisions of non-aligned countries meetings.

During the meeting with Mijatovic today, Prince Sihanouk placed accent on the outstanding role and contribution of President Tito as a statesman to international relations and the policy of non-alignment in the world.

LJUBICIC RECEIVES ZAMBIAN DEFENSE MINISTER

LD051424 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1228 GMT 5 Oct 81

[Text] Belgrade, 5 Oct (TANJUG) -- Army Gen Nikola Ljubicic, federal secretary for national defense, today received Wilson M. Chakulya, member of Parliament and minister of defense of the Republic of Zambia, at the Federal Secretariat for National Defense. Chakulya is leading a delegation of his country's armed forces on an official and friendly visit to our country and its armed forces.

General Ljubicic had talks of interest to both sides with his guest and the members of the delegation from friendly non-aligned Zambia on the continued promotion of relations and cooperation between the armed forces of the two non-aligned countries. The talks took place in a cordial and friendly atmosphere, and were attended by the closest associates of the federal secretary for national defense.

During their stay in Belgrade, Defense Minister Chakulya and the members of the delegation visited the Josip Broz Tito memorial center, paid their respects to the dead, laid flowers on the president's grave and signed in the book of visitors to Josip Broz Tito's grave.

During the day the Sambian Armed Forces delegation visited the Marshal Tito Yugoslav People's Army Military High School Center in Belgrade where the hosts acquainted them with the training system in the Yugoslav People's Army.

The delegation also laid a wreath at the tomb of the unknown hero on Mt Avala.

JOINT MEETINGS WITH SOVIET POLITICAL SCIENTISTS

LD061244 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1050 GMT 6 Oct 81

[Text] Belgrade, 6 Oct (TANJUG) -- Soviet political scientists from the USSR Academy of Sciences and the USSR Association of Political Scientists are staying in Belgrade and Ljubluana as guests of the Federation of Associations for Political Sciences of Yugoslavia and of the Edvard Kardelj Yugoslav Center for Theory and Practice of Self-Management in Ljubluana.

They will discuss the problem of the status of work organizations in the political system of self-management with Yugoslav political scientists.

The Federation of the Associations for Political Sciences of Yugoslavia cooperates with Soviet political scientists and organizes discussions on questions of joint theoretical and practical interest. Last year the USSR Academy of Sciences and the Federation of the Associations for Political Sciences organized a joint meeting with the Federation of the Associations for Political Sciences of Yugoslavia on the questions of the position and function of self-management organizations and on the process of decision-making in these organizations. Soviet political scientists prepared a special brochure dedicated to these questions. After the meetings in Belgrade and Ljubljana have been held the Federation of the Associations for Political Sciences of Yugoslavia will prepare an appropriate publication.

UBIPARIP OPENS NOVI SAD INTERNATIONAL FAIR

LD032102 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1118 GMT 3 Oct 81

[Excerpts] Novi Sad, 3 Oct (TANJUG) -- On the present economic situation, when the battle for stabilization is being waged in all sectors, we have a great chance in agriculture because there are great possibilities for increased food production. At this stage of the struggle for the stabilization of all economic trends, agriculture is of primary importance, especially from the point of view of internal market trends in agricultural products and of normalization of the country's balance of payments situation. The economic stabilization will therefore be increasingly based on the agricultural-food production and other sectors which supply the agro-industry.

This was emphasized by Gojko Ubiparip, vice president of the Federal Executive Council, in his speech at the opening of the 18th International Autumn Fair in Novi Sad in which 15 countries and 700 Yugoslav producers are taking part.

The measures undertaken by the Federal Executive Council this year were not sufficient to achieve really radical changes in the situation. They produced short-term effects. In the first 9 months of this year, industrial production increased by 4.8 percent as compared with the same period last year, which is more than envisaged by the resolution. Exports are increasing from month to month and in the past 9 months increased by 19 percent as compared with the same period last year. However, this is not enough to cover the import of reproduction materials, raw materials and equipment. In the past 3 months, the explosive rise in prices which occurred at the beginning of the year has been checked but inflation pressures are still very pronounced.

The vice president of the Federal Executive Council emphasized that we must view exports as a need and obligation on the part of all basic organizations of associated labour, above all to satisfy our own production needs by importing reproduction materials, raw materials and equipment for development and modernization and not only as a momentary source of income. This means that exports are a general requirement and not, as sometimes one-sidedly considered, an obligation of the state and measures of economic policy. Ubiparip observed that it was not realistic to expect that the problems would be solved by foreign exchange policy alone and by stimulating exports. All qualitative factors in production must be strengthened.

Gojko Ubiparip said it is time to see and assess whether we can declare a moratorium on most of the non-economic investments for the next few years and freeze some aspects of general and joint expenditure. We must bear in mind that this year, and certainly in the next few years, the resources for internal expenditure and development will be smaller than the social product, because our foreign obligations are greater of the possibilities of indebtedness abroad. The time has arrived to fully rely on our own forces, and they are not small. We must therefore resolutely get to grips with all difficulties, he said. The present situation demands it and there must be no postponement and hesitation. This is also confirmed by the stands of the SFRY Presidency and by the clear and open message from the LCY Central Committee on the immediate tasks in the implementation of the policy of economic stabilization, the vice president of the Federal Executive Council emphasized.

KRAIGHER CHAIRS ECONOMIC STABILIZATION SESSION

AU061854 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 6 Oct 81

[Text] Today in Belgrade the commission for preparing the economic stabilization program held its first session, which was presided over by Sergej Kraigher, president of Yugoslavia's Presidency. At the session, the commission, which forms part of the structure of the Federal Social Councils, determined the method of its activity.

The initiative for forming the commission was provided by Yugoslavia's Presidency and the proposal was supported by the LCY Central Committee at its latest session. Members of the commission for economic stabilization questions are the highest leaders of the federation, the republics, the provinces, the League of Communists, the trade unions, the socialist alliance, the Chamber of Economy of Yugoslavia and the Federal Executive Council. Dusan Djordjevic reports:

According to Sergej Kraigher, the commission for preparing the economic stabilization program has been formed to examine the open issues of the country's socioeconomic development, measures of the current economic policy and the functioning of the economic system. The commission is expected to propose a long-term economic stabilization program. Explaining the work, nature and functioning of the commission, Sergej Kraigher, president of Yugoslavia's Presidency, said:

[Begin recording] The fear that this working body will take over the authority of the individual organs is unjustified. We certainly cannot exclude such tendencies but we are convinced that, within the sphere of their authority and duties, the responsible organs will continue to solve all the unanswered questions whereas, according to its own evaluations, the commission will join the work in connection with the most important disputed issues of economic stabilization whenever it is assessed that the commission's involvement will speed up the efforts to find the common solutions. This means that all bodies and organs, and especially the Federal Executive Council and the administrative organs, will continue to work as they have until now, in accordance with their own work programs and urgent operational tasks, whereas the commission must join in only in cases where current problems in which the work is lagging or has stopped because of substantive differences in views or even ideological disagreements. For this reason, the commission is composed of those who can contribute the most to finding the common solutions.

The commission is charged with three basic tasks. The first is the task of working out a consistent and complete program of economic stabilization measures and creating the conditions for implementing that program, including adapting Yugoslavia's social plan, the accords on the foundations of that plan and the plans of the socialist republics and autonomous provinces as well as the planning acts of the organizations of associated labor, self-managing interest communities and other self-managing subjective factors. The second complex of problems facing us involves the examination of the significance of current problems, eliminating and overcoming their consequences and enabling our society -- while we work to prepare a consistent and complete economic stabilization program and measures for its implementation -- to solve the greatest and the highest priority tasks on which the economic, political and social stability of the society depends. The third complex of problems and tasks with which the commission is charged are the unsolved system-related problems. [end recording]

Sergej Kraigher proposed the formation of three working groups within the framework of the commission. The proposal was adopted at the conclusion of the discussion at the session. The first working group should draft a long-term economic stabilization program. Kiro Gligorov, member of the LCY Central Committee and the Council of the Federation, was elected president of that group. The second working group will be charged with the task of examining the current problems of economic stabilization. Jovan Srbovan, president of the Chamber of Economy of Yugoslavia, was elected head of the group. Andrej Marinc, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, heads the third working group which will concern itself with the unsolved problems pertaining to the economic system.

The session adopted the view that the commission for economic stabilization questions cannot replace any constitutional institution or take over its functions. It was also concluded that in the future the state organs and the Delegate Assembly should not neglect their regular tasks and obligations in the sphere of economic stabilization and economic policy. As stated at the session, the existence of this commission does not jeopardize the work of the Federal Executive Council, Yugoslavia's Assembly and the federal social councils.

As a matter of fact, the prerequisite for successfully implementing the economic stabilization policy is that all organs continue the work they have begun in connection with the problems of the current economic policy and economic system. The views of the commission for economic stabilization questions are not binding but it is the duty of every individual member of the commission to struggle for and achieve their implementation in the community in which he works. It was concluded that well-known scientific workers would be included in the commission's work. The commission's work has no deadline

At their sessions, the LCY Central Committee, the Assembly Chambers and other forums and scientific bodies have critically appraised the state of economic instability and its causes. For this reason, as stated at the session, this commission must make specific proposals for appropriate solutions and measures. No delay in solving the problems is possible in the existing economic situation. Therefore, it was agreed that at its next session toward the end of next week, the commission will discuss the unsolved problems connected with the federation's budget and the balance of payments for 1982 because the Federal Executive Council is obliged to submit the draft resolution and all the accompanying documents to Yugoslavia's Assembly toward the end of the month.

Dragoslav Markovic, Veselin Djuranovic, Vojislav Srzentic, Milka Planinc, Zoran Polic, Vidoje Zarkovic, Mirko Popovic, Ali Sukrija, Nikola Stojanovic, Petar Stambolic, Kiro Gligorov, Radivoje Brajovic, Milan Kucan and Ivo Perisin spoke during the discussion at the session.

HODZA DISCUSSES IDEOLOGY, TRAINING, EDUCATION

LD062132 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1341 GMT 6 Oct 81

[Text] Belgrade, 6 Oct, (TANJUG) -- Fadilj Hodza addressed the session of the LCY Organization Committee in the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) at which topical ideological questions relating to training and education in the JNA and the tasks of communists were discussed. He said:

As we all well know, the international situation is very bad. Many international trends are aimed at the continued deterioration of the already bad state of the world. In their form and meaning today, the arms race has reached the highest point ever since the formation of rival military-political camps.

If the United States' current plan is carried out, we shall soon have missiles in our direct neighborhood. Therefore, even in this respect the situation is no longer what it was in the last few years. We shall have more arms stockpiled in Europe than ever before.

In building up our defense, especially in arming and training, we cannot and must not act as if all this did not exist, as if nothing were happening in Europe, in our neighborhood or, more widely, in the world.

The maintenance of peace and the prevention of a new world war represents the most important and most (?delicate) task of our time. We make efforts in this direction with all our being, especially through our comprehensive activity in the nonaligned movement.

As has been the case to date, our society will continue to set aside what it can for the production and acquisition of contemporary arms. Our struggle for peace has more strength the stronger we are and the more capable we are of defending our international prestige, position and our independent internal development.

But contemporary arms are not everything.

However important modern arms are, even more significant is the (?fact) of who holds them, the degree to which soldiers are prepared to use them skillfully and the degree to which they know where, why and how to use them.

It is well-known that even the best arms are not sufficient if the human factor is lacking. This is certainly the most significant factor of defense and self-protection in our country. That is the force which, starting from the national liberation struggle and revolution right up to today, has brought us the most success in all areas of life, as well as in the defense and protection of our socialist self-management development.

It is true that we are against arms, we are against this senseless race. We advocate such a policy at all international gatherings, especially at the UN. But an end to the arms race and the possible start of disarmament does not depend only on us. We must act in our defense in relation to the real situation -- "let us prepare ourselves as if tomorrow we are expecting war. Let us work to ensure that it will never be," as Tito recommended that we do a long time ago.

We all know that in our army now, we have a new quality as regards the cadre composition. In past years the composition was different. We have always had those young people who came straight from middle schools, factories and the countryside, as well as those who had completed higher education.

Now the composition of our army is almost exclusively young people why have barely left school. This is really a new quality which demands quite a different type of work and considerably greater efforts from communists and all officers in our army. You all know this, but I nevertheless recall this fact. I recall it for another reason, since I am thinking of the series of weaknesses and shortcomings in the education system. They are naturally reflected in the young generation who come into the army, so its educational role must be even greater. In these conditions the army must be the force which will build up these personalities and nurture and develop brotherhood and unity,equality, togetherness, Yugoslav self-management and socialist patriotism to the maximum.

Correct and complete training in our army can only be that which is permeated with the Marxist (?view) and founded on a class orientation. Only such an army can truly defend the social order of the working class.

Frequently, it is not sufficient to simply gain the necessary military skills. They may only be partially useful if that same soldier is insufficiently conscious of why he needs them and whom they serve. What I want to say is that the members of our army must be trained completely and comprehensively to defend the gains of the national liberation war and revolution, socialism and self-management and the whole of our system. Apart from having military skills, such young men must be inspired with patriotism and love for everything that has been created in our country, and everything that is revolutionary and progressive. Otherwise, hostile attacks occur particularly those aimed at young people which most frequently appear in the spirit of nationalism, aiming to spread hatred and distrust in relation to other nationalities.

We are a multinational country with a varying level of economic development. The enemy is constantly trying to take advantage of these facts as some kind of proof "of his own," as if "there you are, others are developing at the expense of our own nation," by work and the social climate and general and everyday practical behavior, we need to raise the level of consciousness about equality, community, brotherhood and unity. We need to completely expose the hostile slogans which aim at creating discord and distrust among us.

The events in Kosovo confirmed once again that our army is well able (?to cope with) attacks. This was confirmed both by the units which were located there, as well as by the (?forces) which then came to Kosovo.

They manifested complete readiness and effectiveness in activity. They quickly established links with the people and demonstrated complete readiness to defend those people and the gains they had achieved in our national liberation war and revolution, to act as a guarantee of the security of self-management socialist Yugoslavia and to ensure the continued peaceful development of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo.

I was very pleased to see, 10 days ago, soldiers and young people participating together in the construction of a village waterpipe in Kosovo, even in this rather complex situation. The media write about other similar actions as well. This is also a tested form of political work, exceptional political work, which cannot be replaced or compensated for with anything else. In these actions I have always felt those best traditions of our army in the period of the national liberation struggle and revolution when, after fierce skirmishes- the soldiers worked with the people to rebuild burned out houses, to help the peasants to work the land, to gather the harvest and so forth. This can only be done by an army which is devoted to its people with its body and soul, an army which lives and breathes with them, an army such as ours.

These and other such actions are the best way of seeing and experiencing the link between the army and the people, their indivisibility and their equal interest in the fate of this country. I believe that those young people who worked with the soldiers will not quickly forget the days of joint work and living together, just as this was an opportunity for the soldiers to become better acquainted with the people of the region in which they are serving their time in the army -- regardless of which nationality they are.

I do not have anything particularly new to say about the attempt at counterrevolution in Kosovo, the exponents of which were Albanian nationalists and irredentists. I can only give my impression that the situation is now increasingly better and that the political situation is firmly in our hands.

At the moment a really comprehensive political action is taking place. Each day one can speak about ever better and more normal circumstances. But in order for there to be no possible surprises, we must not for a moment relax either our attention or every other type of caution. This is because as we see it now, the enemy is changing his slogans, changing his color like a chameleon. He is beaten but not annihilated. He tries to adapt to the situation, especially by spreading distrust and hatred among the peoples while insisting on the well-known slogan of "a republic for Kosovo." At the same time he is trying with all his strength to spread distrust coincerning our army.

Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins and others have lived together in Kosovo for centuries. During the national liberation war and revolution they created a new consciousness about the fated linking and togetherness without which not even one people can survive.

It is quite natural that a considerable number of young Albanians from Kosovo and other parts of the country were in our army, as an integral part of the people, in these last few months. It would also be surprising if the hostile attempts in Kosovo did not in some way affect the behavior of a number of military conscripts. You know about these examples and instances. Nevertheless, this was an insignificant number in relation to the enormous number of soldiers from Kosovo who behaved and continue to behave well. It was also gratifying that the officer cadre of the Albanian nationality was well able to carry out its tasks and that it behaved and continues to behave well. Despite this, we cannot avoid the need for an even more active educational role in the army. This is even more our obligation in the development of brotherhood and unity, mutual love and trust, acquaintance with the history of our community and the struggle of the LCY for just such a Yugoslavia -- a community of equal and fraternal nations and nationalities.

Some of our young people do not know enough about the history of our party and its long struggle to solve the national question. And those who do not know are taken in by hostile slogans such as "a republic for Kosovo". Young people should clearly know the essence of Tito's national policy. We must all help them in this.

Similarly, great attention must be devoted to Yugoslavia's unity, the unity of our internal and foreign policy. Young people must, more than any others, know that every attempted attack on any part of our country means an attack on its whole. I point to this for the simple reason that that in many spheres we are so fragmented, isolated and it is not so rarely that one fails to see the whole because of local and partial interests. All this costs us far to much.

Apart from this, in the spirit of the best traditions in our army we must be completely open and clear about everything especially in the Marxist understanding of the world and socialism. It is true that this is the task of all our educational institutions. That is why Marxist education was introduced into the schools, but it is obvious that there is still too much discussion of principles there sometimes are in cliches, and not specifically or clearly. [sentence as received]

In the army we must all speak (?clearly), openly and precisely. In this way we shall also arm our young people with the ability to know what is what, to know the values of this society of ours and how to defend it devotedly both while they are in the army and later when they are at work, whether in factories or in the countryside.

Why am I saying this? Well, as you see, there are a number of events which show that a section of our youth is not sufficiently acquainted with the values of our self-managing socialist society and nonaligned foreign policy. In a field in which no dilemmas were believed to exist, it has now been shown that even the elementary categories are not clear to some.

How else can one explain the fact that in Kosovo, for instance, Enverist [followers of Enver Hoxha] and even Pol Potist views of socialism spread among the youth and that so-called theories about all stomachs being the same and some long outdated concepts of national exclusivity and so forth succeeded in sneaking in. True enough, these events are primarily a serious warning to our educational system -- especially in Kosovo, but not only in Kosovo. This is the basis of another of our army's great ideopolitical roles. I believe that our army, in view of the fact that those who arrive in it have only just finished their secondary school education, can do much to "rectify" omissions and help the yount to organize themselves and leave the army with uniform Marxist views.

Ideopolitical training must be characterized by even greater creativity, by an even more creative approach, especially as regards the attitude to the love of one's own country, own people, as well as togetherness, brotherhood and unity. It is necessary to constantly cultivate love for the achievements of the national liberation struggle and the awareness that only in a self-managing socialist society can we ensure a better and happier life for ourselves. This is not only a task for communists, but also for all educational institutions.We need no apology for our system, but a realistic appraisal and assessment. That is also the way one must speak about the other concepts of socialism.

In practice, however, things that are hard to credit are done in our country. In a number of environments everything is subjected to criticism, while only what is good is heard from other countries. So we have disinformation and we have dillusion and confusion in the heads of the young. They are not sufficiently aware of our positive practice and theory in which the position of man, the creator of modern history, is ceasing to be that of an object and is becoming that of a social historical subject.

In some heads this has become so mixed up that it appears to them that all types of socialism are the same.

It is true that by its global character socialism is a unified world process, but in concrete conditions it is not the same; it is not identical. Differences are enormous and our youth should know this.

Regrettably, today we have hardly any propaganda and it is as if we had no commissions for propaganda in party committees. Mildly put, one hardly notices their presence or one notices it only a little.

In this respect our army can help a great deal, because it possesses the cadres and other requirements needed to fill in this gap and eliminate some of the shortcomings with which a section of our young people join the army.

Allow me also to say just a few sentences in connection with the latest session of the LCY Central Committee, in fact in connection with our current economic situation. This situation is grave. That is clear and we must correct it.

Briefly, we must effect a radical change, not in words but in deeds, throughout our society. This is the deepest interest of the entire country and is in the interest of all of our working class, all of the working people and citizens of Yugoslavia.

The struggle for the stabilization of our country's economy means mobilizing all of the subjective forces for the most effective work effort, for greater production and higher quality, for a greater effort to economize; and against any squandering, idleness, indiscipline, theft, corruption or other deviations.

In this field there are also many tasks for the army. As an example -- and many of you here are better acquainted with these problems -- much can be done to make training more efficient over a short period of time. More can be done to look after arms, technical equipment, clothing and other military property. Economizing must be a basic task for everyone, everywhere at all levels. We must make more rapid progress toward the realization of the following economic imperative: The greatest possible effect of work with the smallest possible resources. In this way, you will make a significant contribution to this great social task.

This then comrades, is what I wanted to say. As you see, along with specialized training, ideopolitical work is equally important to me and the tasks of communists and the officer cadre are exceptionally important and responsible in it. To be up to these great tasks, army cadres must constantly expand their knowledge. Apart from combat readiness, our men must also always be clearly acquainted with all the developments in both the world and the country. They must be clearly aware of the direction from which danger can come and in what way. Apart from all of this, they must always be prepared, so that really nothing can ever come as a surprise to them.

SAWPY BODY DISCUSSES 'CLERICAL NATIONALISM'

AU061830 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 6 Oct 81

[Text] The struggle against all occurrences of clerical-nationalist activity is one of the permanent tasks of organs and organizations of the socialist alliance. As it was stated at today's session of the SAWPY Federal Conference's committee for fulfilling the role of the socialist alliance in relation to religion and activities of religious communities, this orientation also implies the need to rally the believers and include them in all activities of the socialist alliance as the broadest front of organized socialist forces. Nebojsa Jankovic reports more extensively:

Recently we have witnessed a number of attempts by hostile elements to exploit the activities of religious communities for purposes that are contrary to our society's orientations. The most dramatic examples in this connection are certainly provided by the attempts to rehabilitate Cardinal Stepinac, Nikolay Velimirovic and other personages whose hostile activities and collaboration with the occupiers have been condemned for a long time not only by the sociopolitical structures but also by the widest masses of believers. Attempts of this kind will continue to be most sharply condemned and consistently opposed by all organs and organizations of the socialist alliance. But in this connection it is necessary to differentiate between hostile activities and those activities of religious communities which are in accord with the constitution and laws.

At the session of the committee it was also possible to hear criticism of the past activity of the socialist alliance in this sphere. Underestimation and sectarianism are often apparent in the attitude toward believers, something that virtually excludes the working people and citizens with religious convictions from the socialist alliance's activities.

It was noted during the discussion at the session that the economic difficulties and a certain lag in the development of self-managing relations are certainly one of the basic reasons for the intensified activities of the clergy. Therefore, the struggle for economic stabilization and a further advancement of self-management are the main directions of the opposition to clerical nationalism. This is true because the more every working man -- regardless of whether he is a believer or atheist -- is included in all spheres of socioeconomic decision making, the less frequently he will see appearances by various holy mothers and other similar visions which militant clericalism uses in its attempts to provoke religious intolerance and undermine brotherhood and unity, one of the greatest achievements of the self-managing socialist society.

PEOPLE'S ARMY LCY COMMITTEE MEETS 6 OCT

LD061748 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1247 GMT 6 Oct 81

[Text] Belgrade, 6 Oct (TANJUG) -- A session of the committee of the LCY organization in the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] was held in Belgrade today to discuss current ideological questions of the training and education in the JNA, and the tasks of the communists.

The introductory report was submitted by Dane Cuic, president of the committee. Officers from the Federal Secretariat of National Defense, the JNA general staff, and from the units which directly work on planning, guiding and implementing the training and education program in JNA units and institutions, also took part in the work of the session. Twenty comrades, including Failj Hodza, member of the SFRY Presidency and a member of this committee, took part in the discussion on this topic.

It was noted that the army is achieving major results in the field of training and education, and that JNA units and commands are military-professionally, ideopolitically and materially-technically capable, together with other national defense structures and all our nations and nationalities, and in the most difficult conditions, of successfully protecting the freedom, independence, territorial integrity and the constitutional system of the SFRY.

The substance and methods of training and education reflect the demands of armed struggle in modern conditions, our all-people's defense concept, and the rich experience of the national liberation war of the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia. Progress has been made in the training of commands and headquarters.

An advance has been made in the planning and improvement of coordination between JNA commands and territorial defense headquarters in the training of all the structures of all-people's defense. The training of reserve officers and of wartime commands and units is considerably more intensive and of better quality.

The awareness of, and the confidence of JNA members in, the strength and efficiency of our all-people's defense concept have become stronger. Through the entire system of training and education and through other forms of life and work, army members are being trained as all-round socialist personalities, patriots and willing fighters for the development and preservation of the achievements of our revolution. In so doing, the JNA is being reasserted as a great school of Yugoslav socialist patriotism, and of the brotherhood and unity of our nation; and nationalities and of socialist self-mangement humanism..

During the discussion, critical reference was made to the lapses and shortcomings in the sphere of army construction. It was said that within individual units and commands, not all opportunities are being utilized to raise the quality of training and of overall work. In this connection, it was stressed that the struggle of the communists and of all other citizens in the army for the top-class training of units and commands, with the least possible expenditure of material resources, was their best contribution to implementing the stands of the 21st session of the LCY Central Committee on the further implementation of economic stabilization measures and on successful preparations for the 12th LCY Congress.

On the basis of the assessments provided in the material for the meeting, and in the discussion at the session, the committee adopted the conclusions on the most important directions of communsts' activity in the field of training and education in the JNA.

FINANCE SECRETARY EXPLAINS PAYMENTS BALANCE

LD072006 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1445 GMT 7 Oct 81

[Text] Belgrade, 7 Oct (TANJUG) -- Today's session of the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces of the SFRY Assembly was preceded by a meeting of the Committee for Economic Relations With Foreign Countries (Chairman Bogdan Crnobrnja) which adopted the draft law ensuring foreign exchange for the payment of crude oil, oil derivatives and coal for cooking in 1981. The delegates declared themselves in favor of this bill for the sake of ensuring in a more efficacious manner the resources for this purpose, in spite of the fact that there will be difficulties in implementing these obligations. Common interest and need also led the Macedonian delegation to (agree to it) although its two amendments were not adopted after the explanation given by Petar Kostic, representative of the Federal Executive Council.

The federal secretary for finance today also informed the delegates about some problems of the foreign exchange market and the normalization of its work, about indebtedness and the country's foreign currency reserves. Recalling the consequences of the "dried" up foreign exchange market, Kostic emphasized that an important condition for its renewed unctioning is the maintenance of the country's payments deficit at the envisaged level of $1.8 billion and strict monitoring of the foreign currency positions of the republics and provinces. Kostic also spoke about some other factors to ensure the material basis for the work of this market.

This concerns the unidentified influx of foreign exchange which is already reaching the National Bank of Yugoslavia, the mobilization of foreign exchange, the need to maintain the liquidity of the organizations of associated labor by their own means, and so on.

Until these conditions are created, Kostic said, one cannot say precisely when the foreign exchange market will begin its work. He emphasized that the present situation is not only due to indiscipline and failure to implement adopted measures but is also due to the country's balance of payments.

Speaking about the country's balance of payments, Peter Kostic said that the planned figures were somewhat exceeded but that the definite account of increased revenue from tourism and exports, which is traditionally up in the last quarter, is still expected. As regards indebtedness, Kostic repeated the known figure of $16.36 billion emphasizing that most of the debt is due to the import of equipment. Apart from that, the foreign currency reserves are generally within the planned limits.

The committee delegates agreed that all these questions, on which today at least no general agreement was reached in the debate concerning some explanations by the representatives of the Federal Executive Council, will be debated again at the next meeting.

AVIATION FUEL SHORTAGE CAUSING LARGE LOSSES

AU062039 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 6 Oct 81

[Summary] It is anticipated that by the end of this week the supply of aviation fuel to the Yugoslav Air Transport will improve to some extent. Today the Belgrade Airport received a shipment of 200 tons of kerosene borrowed from the material reserves fund. Dusan Radulovic reports:

The shipment of kerosene received by the Yugoslav Air Transport today certainly will not meet all the needs of Yugoslavia's largest air transport organization. As a matter of fact, in Belgrade alone the Yugoslav Air Transport is short of some 150 tons of aviation fuel for regular supplies to its fleet. The assistance from the material reserves fund cannot provide a lasting solution but the Belgrade Jugopetrol organization will continue to borrow kerosene from the fund. However, this system of borrowing fuel from the material reserves cannot last very long, and in the meantime, the Yugoslav Air Transport is incurring increasingly large losses due to fuel supply difficulties.

Yesterday the Panchevo oil refinery received a shipment of about 60,000 tons of crude oil, and it is expected that by the end of the week the refinery will deliver new supplies of oil products, including kerosene, to its consumers. The refinery also expects another shipment of crude oil in the next few days and consequently believes that by the end of the month it will be able to provide normal supplies of kerosene. However, that will not solve all problems. The Belgrade Jugopetrol organization, which supplies the Belgrade and Titograd airports, will be able to guarantee sufficient supplies of aviation fuel beginning this coming weekend. A majority of other airports have sufficient supplies of aviation fuel only for half of the scheduled flights. For instance, today the Split, Dubrovnik and Ohrid airports were without kerosene. The Zagreb Ina and the Ljubljana petrol organizations are currently supplying the Zagreb, Ljubljana, Pula, Rijeka and Maribor airports with only about 50 percent of the aviation fuel needed for regular traffic at these airports.

REPUBLICAN DEFENSE EXERCISE BEGINS IN MONTENEGRO

LD031136 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1003 GMT 3 Oct 81

[Text] Savnik (Montenegro), 3 Oct (TANJUG) -- The fourth republican action, "United in Defense and Protection 81", started this morning in Pluzine and Savnik.

Everything is ready for the beginning of exercises. The population is ready for this action. Everyone knows his task. There is general mobility.

Apart from the population and units of territorial defense and civil protection, the exercises are attended by high military leaders and representatives of the Montenegro SAWP Republican Conference. The action is expected to develop according to already elaborated plans and programs. The combat readiness and preparedness of the units of all-people's defense and social self-protection and of the members of the Yugoslav People's Army will be assessed at the end.

NEW FIGURES ON KOSOVO EMIGRATION RELEASED

AU051839 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 5 Oct 81

[Text] Since 11 March when the Albanian nationalists staged the first demonstrations in Kosovo, the Pristina Communal Assembly has received 880 requests for emigration. In the past 6 months, 4,000 Serbs and Montenegrins have emigrated from the province's capital. At its session today, the Pristina Communal Committee of the League of Communists discussed the reasons for the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins. Milisav Milic reports on the session:

Very nearly incredible data on the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Pristina were reported at the session. The coordination commission for investigating the reasons for emigration, which was formed by the Executive Council of the Communal Assembly, has received 880 requests to terminate registration of Pristina as place of residence. The commission has concluded that 565 requests are justified. However, according to the commission's apprisal, 147 applicants have no reasons to depart from Pristina. The following information is also characteristic: Only one Pristina resident has stated that he is leaving this city because of the irredentist demonstrations. All others have stated that they are leaving for reasons of employment, solving their housing problems, better living conditions, better education conditions and further professional training and other reasons.

However, it was pointed out at the session of the Communal Committee of the League of Communists that the crisis created by the demonstrations is the mian reason for the Serbs; and Montenegrins' departure from Kosovo. But the requests of those who have emigrated or who plan to emigrate are formulated in a way that enables them to comply with all the formalities in the shortest possible time.

The participants in the discussion at the session emphasized that the problem of the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins continues to be approached in a formalistic manner. For that reason, instead of excessive administrative actions and considering those who have emigrated and who plan to emigrate, it is necessary to launch a strong political offensive to halt the emigration of Serbs from Kosovo. It is unanimously believed that there is no more important task than that because, among other things, the economy of the province's capital is in danger of being left without the experts that it needs very badly. For instance, the Kosovo thermoelectric powerplants already face (?a shortage) of cadres without whom production operations are unthinkable. So far, 33 engineers and just as many economists and lawyers, considerable numbers of physicians and educational workes and 140 technicians have emigrated from Pristina.

At the session it was stated once again that the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins can only be stopped by providing complete security for every single working man and by implementing the LCY policy on complete equality of all peoples and natinalities in all spheres of life and work. First of all, it is necessary to wage a more energetic struggle against the nationalist and chauvinist phenomena and all forms of pressures. At the same time, it is necessary to eliminate much more expeditiously various shortcomings and deviations in employment, the cadre policy, culture, science and the use of languages and alphabets. This is true, because various mistakes which are being corrected slowly, strongly encourage the Serbs and Montenegrins to emigrate from the capital and other cities of Kosovo.